



**The Conspi-**  
**racie of Catiline, written**  
**by Constantius, Felicius, Du-**  
**cantinus, and translated by Tho-**  
**mas Daynell: with the historpe**  
**of Jugurth, written by the fa-**  
**mous Romaine Salust,**  
**and translated into En-**  
**glyshe by Alexander**  
**Barcklape.**

(.)





3555

Summery 2 of 12

**T**o the most mightie, moſte excellent,  
our moſte gracious ſoueraigne lord Henry the eight,  
the very kynge of England, Ireland, and of Fraunce,  
the true defender of chriſtes faith, and in earthe  
ſupreme heade immediately vnder Chriſte of  
the church of England, his moſte hum-  
ble ſeruaunte and chaplaine Thomas  
Paynell deſireth moſte hyghe ho-  
nour and perfect felicitie.



When I conſider how we are bounde by the  
lawe of god, to be faithfull and obedient vn-  
to our gouernour, which is ſo many waies  
carefull for oure weltheſ, ſurelye I thynke  
that all that we can do, to ayde and helpe  
hym, bothe with bodye, counſayle, goodes and prayer,  
is but our dutie: than moſt gracious ſoueraigne lord,  
what manne is he: naye what monſtrous beaſte, that  
wolde once thynke to rebell againſte, or wylfully dyſo-  
bey your regall power, lawes, ordinaunces, and ex-  
preſſe commaundementes: yet notwithstandinge, wee  
haue ſeene ſome in oure dayes, ſo ſlyppe from god, that  
they attempted greate thynges agaynſte your hyghe  
maieſtye, which by his juſte iudgemente and wyll, re-  
ceiued condigne punyſhement. The whiche exam-  
ples withoute farther authoritie and knoweledge, eyther  
of holye ſcripture, or other prophane hystories (as me  
ſemeth) ſhoulde abaundauntlye ſuffice, to teache men  
to bee euer obediante vnto their lyege lord: for it is a  
thyng of all other moſte euidente and clere, that god  
wyll not ſuffer ſo vnkynde captiues, ſo deſperate wret-  
ches

## The p̄face.

ches, anye thinge to p̄uaile againste his ymage in  
earthe, a kyng. Where shall we rede in all histories,  
that rauinous rebelles coulde obteyne againste the  
soueraigne gouernours: Surelve if euer any possible  
myghte, Lucius Catiline the Romaine shoulde haue  
done, for he was in a common weale that hadde manie  
rulers, of whome some the chiefeſte fauored his fac-  
cion, he hadde on his syde, that conspired wyth hym,  
the nobleſte of the Senatours: he hadde an armie  
readie at his hande abroade, in the citee suche aidours  
confederate wyth hym, that in maner, no wiſedome,  
power or policie coulde repreſſe: he was therewithall  
ſo wyttie, ſo wylve, ſo ſubtile, ſo full of craſte and  
deceite, ſo diligente and watchefull, ſo bolde and har-  
die, ſo experte and polytike in warre, that he ſeemed  
inuincible: yet by the wyſedome, prudence, and dili-  
gence of a fewe good and vertuous menne, that then  
ruled the common weale, hee and all his confederates  
weere ouerthrowen and cleane ſubdned, as it ſhall ap-  
peare to the readers of thys Catilynes conſpiracie,  
whyche I haue translated oute of latine into Englyſhe  
ſpecially for this intente, that al that be vberned maye  
ſee, if God among the gentiles, wold not ſuffer riotous  
rebelles to ouerrunne rulers & diſtroye comon weales:  
howe moche leſſe then wyl he ſuffer them to p̄uaile  
ageynſte a chryſten p̄ynce, his veray image in erthe.  
Therefore let al mē lerne by this exauple of Catiline  
what the ende of them is, that riſe againſt thyrz rulers  
and euer moze hatefully abhorre to here ſpeke of this  
curſed monſter, this deadelye poyſon in a common  
weale,



## The pzeface.

weale, Rebellion: but wyth all wyttte, industrie, po-  
wer, cunnyng, ryches, wythe for, laboure for, loue,  
fauour, and maynteyne Obedience: whereof I wolde  
wyte moche more, ne were it, that I speke to your  
highnesse, which hath gyuen vnto vs so many  
folde occasyons to be moost feythfullye

beloued, and mooste entierlye o-  
beyed. for whose magni-  
ficente mayestie, we are  
mooste derelye

bounde,

dayly

on oure knees to praye god to

preserue, ouer vs to reyne

as many yeres as

bestoꝝ lyued.

Amen.

Printed by I. C. in the year 1554.

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**The wyf, maners, dedes,**  
and affections of Catiline.  
Cap. primo.

**C**ATILINUS Sergius Catiline, a noble man bozne, hadde manye vertues, dusked and defaced with excreadyngre greate vices. He was ingenious and bolde, hee hadde a good memorie, and was well lerned. To doo anye greate enterpryse, hys counsaile was not to seeke, and to goo thozoughe therewythall, he wanted neyther tongue nor hande. He was an experte man of warre: he coulde suffer and endure labour, watche, colde, thyrste, and hunger, far beyonde that any man wolde beleue. But at these his qualities men most merueilled: hee coulde wyne and obteyne the loue and friendshyp of euery man, and with seruiseable lowlines kepe and mainteyne the same: all that he hadde was at his friendes commaundement, and he denied to no man desyringe any thyng that he coulde geue. But excreadyngre greate vices surmounted these vertues: hys audacitie was incredible, hys vnshamefastnes very singuler, hys vnconstancie wonderfull, fierce of mynde, dishonest, discreptefull, and lecherous: ne there was neuer man moze vnfaithful or moze cruell then he. Ne there was neuer man in this worlde, I thynke, that had his desires and inclinacions so contrarie, so diuers, and so repugnante to nature. In rapinge and catchinge he was auaricious, in rewardeyngre prodigall: he kepte company wyth manye lewde and dishonest persons: and yet feyned him selfe to esteeme none but men moste vertuouse and honorable. He hyghly hated all good men: and was most famylar with men most noble. With men of sadnes he ly-

B

ued

### Conspiracy.

ued soberly, with pleasant felowes merilye, with olde men saddely, with youth youthely, with misdoers boldly, with lecherous lecherously. This man from his child hadde led his lyfe in all vilefull lewdenes: many thynges after his luste and pleasure, and many thinges cruelly, he dyd to the citzens of Rome and their alies: and many deedes of sacrilege and wickednes he committed bothe againste the goddes and men. For he takynge Syllas parte, slewe with his owne hande M. Cecilius, M. Uolumnius, and L. Tantalus, moste noble citzens of Rome: bycause they were of the contrary parte. Also after that he had with beatynges all to haled and tozned throughe the citie of Rome M. Marius Grandianus (the whiche was of the common people singularly beloued, and which had ben twise Pretor, and to whom for honour the people had erected images in euery strete of Rome) he strake of the heade frome his shulders, the people lookinge vpon hym: and he with his owne handes bare the head not yet fullye deade, frome the lyttell towne, not farre frome Rome, called Janiculum, vnto Sylla to the temple of Appollo. There be also, whiche saye that Catiline defyled hym selfe wyth slaughter of his owne brother: and afterwarde dreyng therfore to be punyshed, he besoughte Sylla that his brother that he had kylde, myght be intituled amonge the nombze of them that were condemned. He slewe also Catullus, his sisters husbnde, a ryght worshipfull knight of Rome. Catiline was had in suspicion of incest, committed with hys owne syster. Farthermore beyng Pretor in Affrica, he so vexed and afflicted the countrey, that the ambassadours of Affrike (hee yet gouernynge the Prouince) made a greuous complaynte vpon hym in the Senate house,



house, and sharpe sentences were of the fathers gyuen  
 agaynste hym in the senate house: for some Senateurs  
 wolde he shoulde haue ben deliuered to the Ambassa-  
 dours, And as sone as he was returned from Africa,  
 the yonge man Pub. Clodius accused hym of extorcion  
 and bybery. Cicero in Toga c   da, and Lucretius in  
 the ozations that he worste agaynste Catiline, obiected  
 agaynste hym, that he had maryed his owne doughter,  
 the whiche he begate on a gentell woman, whose com-  
 pany he haunted very moche: And it was reported for  
 so certayne, that he had committed fornicacyon with Fa-  
 bia, Ciceros wyfes sister, and a nonne, that beinge ac-  
 cused therof, vnneth he escaped thzough fauour of Ca-  
 tulus. Finally Catiline caught with the loue of Aurely  
 Orestilla, that had (as the fame wente) a faire and a  
 beautifull face, slewe his owne wife. After that he de-  
 sired Aurelia to his wyfe, but she not fearing his house  
 that runne of bloude of his fyrste wife, but that she was  
 adzedde of his sonne in lawe a yonge man, therfore she  
 sayde she durste, not marye with hym. But Catiline to  
 the ende he mighte haue Aurelia, heaped myschye-  
 feppon myschye: for when he hadde poysoned hys  
 sonne in lawe, he married Aurelia. For Catiline defiled  
 hym selfe noo more with the filthy loue of women, then  
 he did of boyes. Thus Catiline bringe spotted with so  
 manye wicked cursed, and shamefull dedes burned al-  
 waye with an incredyble desyre to oppresse the common  
 welthe. For he coueted honours, the imperial rounes,  
 prouynces, triumphes, and thynges out of his reache:  
 the whiche he had no hope to obteyne, so longe as the  
 common weale was in quiete: but beinge troubled, he  
 beleued verily to haue them. Lastely trustynge in hys

B.ij. great

## Conspiracy.

great route of vnthriftes and hopelostes, he toke counsayle to enuade the common weale.

¶ But for bycause L. Catiline conspired twise ageynst the common weale, ones when Lepidus and Vulsatius were consuls, and ageyne when Cicero was consul it is requisite, before we come to the thynges that were done in the tyme of Ciceros consulshyp, somwhat to recite of the former Conspiracy.

¶ The fyfte Conspiracie of L. Catiline and P. Antronius. Cap. ii



¶ When P. Antronius and P. Sylla were chosen to be consuls: (L. Tullus, M. Lepidus beinge consuls) they were accused of ambition, and spoyled of honour and fame: Antronius (as he was a man, which in prosperitie was accustomed to dispise al men, and in aduersitie to striue ageynste those that were good men) wold neyther gyue place to tyme, nor yet to fortune her selfe, but thought in his mynde by force to recouer the consulshyp, which he had forgoone by iustice. Wherefore he disclosed his intente to L. Catiline, and L. Vargunteius, and Gn. Piso, an vnthriftye, riottous, and hasty yonge man, and very desyrous to disturbe the common weale. The whiche supposynge they coulde not easely brynge this thynge to passe, withoute the helpe of some greate man, they got to associate and helpe them L. Licinius Crassus, a man that florished in great fauour, rychesse, and honoure. Hym they made theyr chiefe capitayne in this matter: bycause he was not frendely but ennemye to Gn. Pompei, and soze agreued that he grewe so gret in the common weale. These men conspired aboute the  
seuen

viij. daye of December, and purposed with a great nom-  
bre of boudmen and sworde players, gathered together  
the fyrste daye Januarpe folowinge, to slee L. Cotta,  
and L. Torquatus the consuls, and to besiege the Pa-  
laice: and after they had murdered many of the Sena-  
tours, Crassus shoulde inuade the dictatourshyppe:  
Catiline and Antronius, catchynge bp the oznamentes  
of consulshyp with the sergiantes, shulde descende into  
the felde: and the common weale ozdered after theyr di-  
uise, Viso withe an armpe shoulde be sente to conquere  
bothe Spaynes. But Crassus, when the daye of thys  
murther was come, repentinge hym selfe, wolde not be  
there. Wherfore the other conspiratours were so disco-  
raged, by reason of his absence, that they coulde not  
performe theyr enterpryse. Some report otherwise, and  
they wryten, that these noble men were not slaine, by re-  
son that Catiline gaue token to the rebels, before they  
were redy. C. Caesar, and P. Sylla, moste noble cite-  
zens were named to be in this conspiracie. And farther  
theye saye, it was so appoynted, Caesar shoulde haue  
ben maister of the horsemen. But Caesars vertue, no-  
bleneisse, and magnyficente mynde defendethe hym not  
to be in this conspiracie: And the moste noble ozatour,  
M. Hortentus defendethe Sylla. Of this conspiracpe  
Cicero speaketh in his eplstoll, which he sent to Pom-  
pei, of his dedes, and of chastite of the common weale  
wrytynge, that two yeres befoore, there was an incre-  
dyble furoure, and broughte to lyghte in hys consul-  
shyppe, But hytherto we haue spoken of the fyrste con-  
spiracpe.



## Conspiracie

Of the other conspiracy far greater and more  
griuous. Cap. iiii.



**A** thoughe the fyrste conspyracye came  
shamefullye to passe, yet Catiline chaun-  
ged not his purpose, nor woulde desyste  
frome his wicked and cursed perswasyon  
to oppresse the common weale: But was  
more feruente and desyrous by reason that  
he supposed, some mishap letted, that the first conspira-  
cy went not luckely forwarde: and againe bycause there  
were many citizens of Rome, whiche to lyue in lust and  
lykynge, were so farre endetted, that they coulde not  
come, oute withoute sellynge of theyr landes. But they  
loued so moche theyre possessions, that rather then they  
shulde be spoyled of them, Catiline wiste verye wel thei  
wolde venter to do what soeuer he desired the m. Also  
the hope that he had, to obtayne the consulshyp, kende-  
led moche his courage, and, namely, bycause he hoped  
to haue to be hys felows in office C. Antonius his speci-  
all frende. Farthermore his decaye in substaunce, and  
his beastely, cruel, and importunate nature stered hym,  
whiche desired neyther rest nor yet warre: except it were  
amonge them selfe. There was also a greater cause  
whiche stablyshed Catiline (a man of his owne cozage  
bent to disturbe the common weale) in hys hardynes &  
desyre: for after that L. Sylla had by conquest taken  
on hym to rule the common weale, puttinge out the old  
inhabitaunce of Fesules, appoynted his men of warre  
(to whome he had gyuen ryght greate prayes) to dwel  
there. These men of nedy persons beinge sodeynly en-  
ryched with other mennes goodes, beganne, to buylde  
ryght

righte sumptuous and statelie manour places and houses, and to make costly feastes and great expences. And whyle they thus lyued after the maner and arraye of kynges, the greате abundaunce of goodes, that they by spillynge of bloude and slaughter of citizens had heaped together, were sone wasted and spent. For yll gotten goodes are soone broughte to naughte. And afterwarde in that nedynes, the ryottous and sumptouse facion, that they vsed in abundaunde remaynyng styl, it is incredyble to speake, howe greatly they fel in det. And for this cause all theyr hole desire was to haue sedicion, discorde, and warre amonge them selves. And to the great lettynge forwarde of theyr matter, Gn. Pyslo a stoute stomaked and valyant yonge man, of whome we spake befoze, was in the hither Spayne wyth an armye. But he was endued and brought vp in condicioun lyke Catiline, couetous a foo to reste and quietnes, enemy to good men, a waster of his owne goodes, and a catcher of other mennes, a standarde bearer of sedicion and sterer to stryfe of chape-men. Fartherfoze P. Siccinius Auerius ruled then the prouynce of Maurytayne, which was a man beyonde al measure desirous of a newe alteration in the common weale: those were Catilines greattest frendes. For lykenes of nature and maners hath great strength in knyttynge fast frindschyp. With these two Catiline had oft afore tyme a counsayl as concerninge to moue warre, and hoped now at this tyme, that the conspyrace should be ryght greatly furthered by theyr ayde and power. Into this deuellysh desire he was drawen with a certayne vehemency and fury bycause he sawe al thinges went as Gn. Pompei, and a fewe other wolde haue it. For whyle L. Tullus,

All gotten  
goodes.

Likenes  
of maners.

and

## Conspiracie

Feare to  
loweth  
misdoers.

and M. Lepidus were consuls, it was longe debated in the Senate house, who shulde be chosen capitaine agaynste the kynge Mithridates: Catiline laboured all that he coulde with frendshippe, fauour, and ambition, to be capitayne of that warre: but all the Senatoures styfely withstode hym, and appoynted Gn. Pompey, to be in that hyghe rounge, namely by the meanes of Cicero, then beinge Pretor. Fierce Catiline touched wyth this rebuke, beinge enemie to good men, and sore displeased with the Senatoures, determyned hym selfe to disturbe the common weale. Callynge also to mynde, how many citizens he had slaine, the manyfolde cursed and wicked fornications, & aduoutryes, and the infinite vengeable dedes, that he had commytted and doone agaynste his countrey, the goddes and men, and thought euery houre eyther to be put in pryson or to be banished for the misdoers fere always to be punished. And this semed to Catiline to make highly for his purpose, that there was none armye in Italye, and that euery place was ful of desperate, vnthrift, and naughty persones. Wherfoze Catiline surely trusted by so manye and soo great oportunities, easely to oppresse the comon weale, got vnto hym very many frendes and alies of al sortes of men.

The condicions, the dedes, and maners of them that were felowes  
of the conspyracy, whiche were in the city. Cap. iiii.



**T**HERE WAS neither at Rome, nor yet in no corner of Italy, any poysoner, sword plai-  
er, these, murderer, parentes sleer, forger of  
false testamentes, hozemonger, riottoure, or  
aduouterer, but that he was somewhat familiarlye ac-  
quainted



queynted with Catiline. And who so euer at Rome had prodigally spent awaye his landes, and ryottously consumed his goodes, suche were Catilines moſte nere and deſeſte frendes. And loke whom he knewe ſolehardye, him moſte gladlye wolde he reſeyne into his frendſhip. For he ſaide they that muſte be called to be aſſocypate in a ciuyl warre, ſhulde in no wiſe be feareful and coward captyues. Farthermoze he intyced to hym manye noble yonge men, to ſome promyſynge bodilye luſte and pleaſure, to ſome the deathe of theyr parentes, ſome he wan with money, ſome with fauoure, ſome with the bodelye labour, ye with the helpe of a myſcheuous dede, if nede required: and as he ſawe in them diuers inclinacions, ſo with the diuers reaſons he allured them to be his frendes. Alſo he enterſeyned certayne men of greate power and honeſtye by diſſimulation and cloked vertue. For (as we ſayde) he was adourned with many noble qualities, the whiche I woulde to god he had turned and applyed to a better intent and purpoſe.

Thus when Catiline had got together a huge multitude of ryottous hopeloſtes, and vnchriſtlye captyues about the fyrſte daye of June, L. Julius Ceſar, and C. Marius Fyrgulus beyng conſuls, fyrſte he beganne to proue euery mans courage aparte ſecretely, & to declare what great aduancementes they ſhulde haue by reaſon of the conſpiracie, to ſome that were couetous he ſayde, theyr tyme was come to haue inoughe: to ſome deſirous thereof he behighte rounne and auctorite: ſome he put in remembraunce of greate ſpoyle, pillage, and robberye. And ſo after he perceiued they were redye and prompt to the matter, all the moſte noble, and moſte valiante and hardye enterpryſers, and them, with whom he was moſt

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familiar and nereſt alied, he aſſembled together into the houſe of M. Lecca. This houſe Catiline choſe oute for hym, bycauſe it ſtoode farre from the frequencie and reſorte of people: for he demed an oute corner or a ſolitary place moſte conueniente for hys purpoſe. So thither reſorted to this aſſembly of the moſt noble linage of the Cornelians, M. Lentulus Sura, a manne lykelye to be conſull, and was nephew to that moſte noble and worthy Lentulus, which beinge armed, purſued Gracchus into the hyll Auentine. This Lentulus in feruente deſyre of roune and auctorite was egall to Catiline: but touchynge the greate diligence, wiſt, and polyce vſed in warre, he was nothynge comparable to hym. As the leſſe he was a man of goodly perſonne, and righte eloquente in wordes, and beinge induced by diuination, he beleued, that his name was predeſtinate to deſtroye the common weale. For he ſayde, that by the booke of Sybill, and anſweres of the ſouthſayers, there ſhoulde be three of that name Cornelius, that ſhulde be ſonerayne gouernours: and that he him ſelfe was the thyrde Cornelius, to whome the empire and kingdome of the Romanes ought of neceſſitie to come. For he ſayde, that Sinna and Sylla had bene before him.

Miſerable and wretched at thoſe men that put truſte in ſuche ſouthſaiers, to whome the puniſhement of Lentulus ought to be a good example, on how many rough rockes and perils they make men to runne.

In this lentulus noughte remayned of the noble bloude of his anceſtours, ne nothing of theyr glorious and famous dedes: but all thynges contrary to theym, for in ſtede of theyr honeſtie, temperaunce, manlineſſe, and prudence, he was indewed with fylthynneſſe, lechery  
ſuggiſhe

sluggishe slouth and foolehardynesse. But yet he was  
twofold Senatour, and twofold accused in iudgemente, and  
escaped.

Also thither came C. Cethegus, this man passed Ca-  
tiline in lewde enterprises, and foolehardynesse, but in  
feates of warre, nobilitie, and strength of body, he was  
in maner egall to hym. For he beinge but a souldiour  
in the warres, dyd many greate and notable dedes, full  
oft his ennemy in armes he ouerthrewe: he was a right  
good horseman, and a perfect man of armes. And there  
was no businesse so weyghty, nor none so harde and dif-  
ficile, but that it semed to him lighte and easy: So grete  
so large, and so immoderate was his hart and courage.  
This man had afore tyme soze wounded the moste no-  
ble and worthye man Q. Metellus Pius. And had an  
other tyme, as it was saide, conspired agaynst the com-  
mon weale

Also of this band was P. Cimber Gabinus, a great  
man of birthe: but hee was dishoneste, cruell, a poller,  
proude, deceitfull, vnshamefaste, and gyuen to bodelye  
luste.

Also of this confideraci were L. Crassus Longinus  
and P. Antronius, bothe noble men, bothe eloquente,  
bothe hadde in great honour and estimation, and both  
were consuls at diuers times: those two were lyke in  
carnall luste, in cruelnes, in shamefastenes, and their  
audacitie double: of the whiche the one by force and  
violence thruste men out of theyr possessions, slewe and  
murthered, and robbed churches and chapels, the o-  
ther commytted many aduoutries and fornications. It  
were to longe for me to discriue every mannes lyfe and  
maners, namely sythe I haue me to declare the thyngs



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that are more necessary to be spoken.

**T** Soe there assembled together in this house, beside those that are afore reherſed, L. Murgunteius a Senator, P. Seruius Silla, Q. Curius, Q. Amnius, P. & M. Lecca, L. Calphurnius Bestia, M. Fuluius Nobilior, P. Satiſius, P. Furius, Manlius Chilo, and P. Congillus: And more ouer ſtraungers borne and inhabitantes of towneſ that were vnder the Dominion of the Romaines, ſuche as were chiefeſt and of moſte eſtimation, they made of counſaile with them.

**A**lſo there were ſome, that woulde not come at thys aſſemble, but they were priuelye parteners to this myſcheuous dede, and ſecretly dyd ayde and helpe Catiline. Amonge the whiche ſome ſaide, that M. Crallus, and C. Ceſar, had knowledge of this conſpiracie, and were bothe helpers and furtherers of the ſame. They ſayde, that Crallus was driuen thereto by reaſon that he was fore greued in his mynde to ſe G. Pompei hys ennemye to be of al men (for the noble dedes and conqueſtes that he had done, both by lande and ſea) demed and eſtimated as chiefe and ſoueraigne of the citey: and for that cauſe Crallus truſted, if the conſpiratours dydde vanquiſhe and ouercome, that he hym ſelfe myght eaſelye bee the prince and ſoueraigne of all the worlde. They ſayde Ceſar was driuen therto, by reaſon that through his great and large liberalitie, he owed aboue, DCCC. xxx. talentes. Some ſaye that all theſe thynges were feyned and blowne abrode by their enemies: and ſhoulde in no wyſe be beleued, that ſo noble men ſhoulde confederate them ſelues with Lentulus Catiline, and Cethegus, deſperate caitiues. What certeine knowledge I haue of eyther of them, I wyl after in place conuenient declare.

But

But when these men that I haue reherſed were there assembled together, Catiline tooke them a parte, and thus he ſayde.

The oracion of L. Catiline to hys felowes of the  
conſpiracie. Cap.v.

**Y**OUR incredible faythefulnes, and the great fortitude and manhode that I haue alwaye perceiued in you, dothe enconrage my herte, yea and putteth me in greate hope, not onelye to receuer libertie, but also to enlarge and augmente our olde dignitie. For whan I loke and well beholde eche of you, I ſe no man in this companye, that hath not done some noble and woorthye acte: ne no man, but that he derely tendereth my welth, ne no man but either he hath done me pleasure, or els I him, ne no man but that I am bounde to remembre for euer moze his goodnes toward me. And therfore now I haue no feare to diſcloſe and open vnto you, what I purpoſe and intende: noz I haue no drede noz miſtruſte, but that eche of you wil endeuour hym to the vttermoſte of your power, to accompliſhe and bringe to effecte, that that I ſhall ſhewe you. For the olde lawe of iuſte and frewe amitie, that of a longe tyme hath ben betwene vs, is, that frendes ſhulde alwaye wyll one thyng: noz there is no bonde of frendſhypp moze certayne and ſure, then the conſent and ſocietie of counſayll and wyll. And therfore in this cauſe moſt ſpecially your wyls and myne ought to be one, for ſoo moche as ye ſhall well perceiue, that thoſe thinges, that my harte ſo ſore deſyrezeth to bringe to paſſe, are egally good and euyll, bothe for you and me. Oftentimes by my ſelfe thinking on the miſeries, that

C.iiij,

we

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we many yeres haue benne wrapped in, and (as me seemeth, shall be styll, onlesse your moste prudente wysedomes woll prouide remedy: I am wonte to call to remembraunce, what a wretched life we shal leade in tyme to come, without we set our selfe at libertie. For I nede not to reherse to you, your selfe beare it well inoughe in in remembraunce, howe many and dyuers hurtes and griefes we haue endured sith the moste common wele through the crueltie of certayne vngratious persones, was permitted and let slippe to be vnder the rule, order, and power of a fewe, and suche as began to take more, vpon them, then all the rest besyde. For I, lettynge passe to reherse the mishappe and chaunce that ech of vs hath had, you maye with one regarde beholde all vs that be here: noble, stronge, and valiante men, whiche often tymes for the common weale haue not eschewed perylls moste greate and greuous and hauynge neyther lande nor rent, lest as wretches, neddy, sorowfull, and outcastes, haue as moche as we can do, to defende our lines, fame, citie and goodes, But they, whiche violate, bere, and trouble all together, both the lawe of god and mā, not onely walowynge in riches and welthe, pleasantly passe awaye theyr tyme where they luste: but also euery thyng beinge done at theyr commaundement and wyl, seke wayes and meanes to attrappe and destroye the moste noble and valiant men of our citie: and they them selfe are in doubte of nothyng: finallye they haue and exercise a regall power. I haue no word more greuous when I name this royal power: but surely theyr power is greater than a kinges. What kingdom was there euer, that had mo kyniges at one tyme, what kinge was there euer so mightie and soo stronge, the which had a power



power to constitute and make kynges : But these men haue full power to rule all prouinces , and depriue free nations of theyr landes , and to geue and dispose other mennes royalmes and kyngedomes. To these men all the whole world, kynges, princes, and straunge nations haue ben alwaies tributours. And so they haue all the power, fauoure, ryches, worshyp, and honoure. To the satisfiynge of the whole couetousenes, surelye it semeth all the whole worlde is to lyttell and ouer straitte. But now, if they wolde seeke only to haue the power, riches and honoure, they shulde be to vs greuous, but yet they mought be suffred and borne. But what is he that can endure and suffer, that they haue abundance of cattell, golde, syluer, iuorie, ryche aray, costlye howsholde stuffe, and other thynges, shulde daylye lye in adwaite to catche vs in some snare, that are nedye and want al these thynges, and that are with their boastynge and bragges, greuoulye wronged : ye and beside that, to goo aboute styl to depriue vs of this oure sorowfull and most wretched lyfe. We are sore thretened, and are in perpetuall peryll and dreede of them, oure iudgementes and puttyng from all roumes and offices are prepared. Whyche thynges howe longe wyll you most valiaunte and noble men, patientlye beare and suffer : Were it not better for a man a thousande tymes to dye, then to lyue in that cite where he is an abiecte, contemned, and despised of all other, desperate and forsaken, tremblyng and quakyng, mistrustinge his owne affaires, not so hardye to speke, without lybertie, without auctorite, and wythout any shappe of free man : Yea and to be subiecte to those, the which if we had a common weale, wolde be in feare and dreede of vs. Wherfore moste hardy and  
valian

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baliant men, let vs at laste shake of our strugghenesse,  
and let vs take suche hart and courage as becometh no-  
ble Romaynes bozne. Our forefathers coulde not suf-  
fre the proude kyng Tarquinius: and canne we suffer  
not one kyng, but many moste cruell tyrantes: Sure-  
ly I will neuer leaue you, I wyll monishe you, I wyll  
teache and instructe you, I wyll alwaye declare to you,  
what I thynke beste to be done: there shall no tyme es-  
cape me neyther night nor daye, but that I woll minde  
and imagine, what soo euer concerninge oure libertye,  
ought to be thought on, that thyng, that oughte to be  
entreprised and done, wyll not I make courtseye to doo,  
but shall desyre and praye you to haue the doinge ther-  
of, fynally I wyll do that that becometh a worthy Ro-  
mayne to do: that is, for our libertie I wyll put my life  
in teoperdy: But I protest before god and man, that the  
victorie is in our handes, if we wyll playe the men. We  
haue here at hande Syllas souldiours, withe all theyr  
fauour, strengthe, and one assente, redye to ayde vs: by  
whose socerneye comynge, we shall shortlye haue a  
stronge and sure hoste of men, With like diligence, fa-  
uour and loue to recouer libertie, the moste bolde and  
valiante men, Gn. Piso, and P. Siccinius Nucerus,  
haue conspired with vs: of the whiche the one is in the  
hither Spayne with a great armye, the tother is cap-  
tayne and ruleth Mauritaine. Those two shal we haue  
as felowes in counsaylynge, and moste trusty and sure  
helpers in our nedes and busynesse. But other menne,  
good lord what routes, and withe what fauoure, and  
hardy courage they agree with vs to recouer libertie: I  
let passe here to speake of the noble citizens, the whiche  
hauinge neither lande nor rent left, and beinge wrapped

in great wretchednesse and nede, can vnneath suffer and endure, that this so noble and mighty a citie shoulde be subiecte to the wyll and power of a fewe persons. For who is the moste noble and valiant men, the whose riches, worlshipp, honour, prouynces, rounes, offyces, and hyghe auctorities, are not dere and pleasant: Whereto shulde I reherse to you the good wylls of poore men, whiche vnfortunate felowes, beinge oppressed with exceedinge greate dette, and trouble with infinite wronges, can not be safe and sure by none other meane than by ciuile warre, But what nedethe me to remembre to you these men, the whiche very nede, the whiche priuate iniuries, the whiche feare of iugementes, and the which necessitie compelleth vnto warre: I swere to you my faythe, there is no citizen, without this domination of the mighty men, the whiche wold not with al his harte resiste and withstande these cruell tyrantes. There are but ouer many redy to recouer liberti, the market place is ful of those men, al the townes of Italye are ful, all Italye is reyled vp, men of al states and condicion, and finally men of every age agree and consent all on this one thyng. And it both not a litle helpe forwarde, that the riches of these men is spited amonge stronge nations theyr, might hated, the consuls power, with the whiche (at the next election) I truste you shal se me adourned. Do you than doubt, I beinge your consul and capitaine, the souldiours myndes styred and kendeled herto and all Italye conspiring with vs to recouer agayne your libertie: For goddes sake moste strong and valiant men, let not slyppe, but take sure holde on this occasion offered vnto you, and at last cal to your remembrance, that you be Romaine princes. We haue suche



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a time, as neuer man hadde befoze vs. And if you lette this scape, you shall neuer haue suche an other tyme agayne. I am longe in exhortinge you: There is no thyng elles that, I will monishe you: for there is no man so foolyshe, but that he perceiue, that we can be none other way in safte. Wherfoze necessitie, perill, the large rewardes that shall arys by this warre, shoulde moche moze steepe and prouoke you therto, then mine oration. You shall haue me to bee your capitaine or elles your companion, or rather bothe swayne: Neyther my mynde nor body shall euer fayle you. And although my mynde and corage hath euer ben prompte and redy: yet the time hath fayled vs: but alwaye as soone as oportunitie appered, I was my selfe the chiefe and principal that wold haue recouered agayne your libertie. Soo that I beinge consull and prince and you the auctoures and capitaines (the goddes beinge, helpers) surelye in shorte tyme we shall be free, and out of al bondage: excepte we had rather be in thraldome, then lyke men by feate of armes and dente of sworde, to trye the matter.

¶ When he had saide, euery man moste highlye lauded Catiline, they gaue him greates thanks, and approued his counsaile. And vnto manye of them, that asked him what the condition of this warre shulde be and what rewardes and winninges shulde ensue and folow of this conspiracye. Catiline fyrste promysed them, the death of great riche men, newe proscriptions, prouinces, offices, and honoures, Than he discriued vnto them al the hole maner of this warre. And lastly he exhorted them that they shuld moste fauourably sticke to him in the request of the consullshipp. And after they hadde embraced and taken eche other by the hande, he let them departe;

¶ The

The confederacie concluded and knytte vp with  
mannes bloude. Cap. vi.

**I**WYLL NOT in thys place omitte, that  
Linus and Saluste haue left in wryting.  
After Catiline had ended his oration, and  
had with all kynde of assurances and othes  
knytte vnto him felowes of his furie, to go  
forthe with theyre wicked and vengeable enterpryse, he  
poured wyne and mannes bloude together in a cuppe,  
and firste he beganne: and after gaue it to hys felowes  
to drinke. Some other wryters haue added hereunto,  
that this confideracie was not onely concluded wythe  
mannes bloude, but also it was stablyshed and conyrm-  
med with the tastinge of the fleshe of a certayne man,  
that Catiline had slayne. And they say, he dyd it for this  
consideracion, that throughe suche a cruell dede they  
shulde be the more saythfull one to an other. Some o-  
ther consideringe the great cruellnesse of the dede, thinke  
it is but a feyned matter, and incredible. But I am not  
onlye sone perswaded, to thynke that it was so done, but  
also I deme hym not to haue dooue that, to the entente  
that they shulde be the more saythful among them selfe  
But I beleue, he dyd it, to teache the conspiratoures by  
example, the maner and vse of wilde bestes, of whiche  
there are none more cruel and mortal then they (as men  
saye) whiche haue ones tasted mannes fleshe. So likes-  
wise, whan they had ones take a taste of mannes bloud,  
there shuld be no enterpryse so fierse and fel, nor no dede  
so cruel, that they ought to feare and abhorre to do. And  
to belene this thinge, that I lerned of a certayne greate  
auctour induceth me: how Catiline was bozne in hand

D.ij.

by

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by southesayers, that a certaine Eagle or standarde of Silver, that C. Marcius had in the warres agaynst the Cimbrians, was predestinate to be the destruction and ruine of the common weale: to the whiche, as we rede, he erected aulters, and ordeyned an oratorie at home in his house, and was wounte to worshyppe it as a godly thyng, whan he wente in hande with any enterprise. O crueltie that neuer was harde of before those dayes, that there shulde be than some founde, the which vnder the shappe of men, were in harte fierce and cruell wilde bestes.

Of. vii. that desired the consullshyppe, amonge whome  
Cicero perswaded. Cap. vii.

**I**N THE MEANE whyle, when they wente to electe newe consuls, there came forth. vii. that desyred to bee consules, of the whiche, twoe were descended of noble linage, L. Catiline, and P. Calpurnius. Foure were meaner personnes, of the whiche, two were moore noble. C. Antonius, the sonne of the moste wittie and eloquent Oratour M. Antonius, L. Cassius Longinus, that was amonge them at the foresayde vngacious assemblie: Q. Cornificius C. Licinius sacerdos: and oone of theym a knyghtes sonne borne, M. Tullius Cicero, the whiche in noble birthes was inferioure to the other, but in wyfte, counsaile, eloquence, and stoutenesse of stomacke, he far passed them all. When this man through the great fowour, good wyll, and loue of the people, had bene Tresourer, Gardian of the temples, and Mayre, as his age serued him, thoughe he were a newe gentylman, yet hauynge truste



fruge in his vertuous demeanoure, beganne to requirre the consulshyp. For befoze that tyme the nobilitie kepte that dignitie with strength and wisdom to them selfe. For there was no newe gentleman consull of a longe season befoze. But of these. vii. Cassius, Galba, Cornificius, and Licinius were slower in requiring the consulshyp then they made for. But Catiline hauing great hope to be consull, ranne frome tribe to tribe, and called vpon and went in hande with all those that vsed at election of the hyghe officers to deale money, and gyue rewardes on the behalfe of the noble men, and he despised M. Tully Cicero, and denyed that a straunger myghte striue with hym befoze an egall iudge: he tooke Antonius as his felowe in office, and not as one that stroue with hym to be consull. For they two were agreed together to hyfte Cicero beside the consulshyp, throughe the assured helpe of M. Crassus and C. Ceaser. Ambicion was extremeli in bre in those dayes. For Catiline and Antonius dyd all that they coulde wyth exceedinge greate gyftes and rewardes, too come to the consulshyppe. Wherefoze throughe the perswasion that Cicero made there vpon in the senate house, the Senatoures decreed that a newe lawe shulde be made againste ambicion, and the penalte thereof augmented. And because Q. Mutius Drellinus the prosector of the common-  
tie wolde haue letted this decree to go forth, to the sore and greuous displeasure of the Senatoures: Cicero rose vp and ryghte sharpe rebuked Q. Mutius: and vehemently inuehed againste L. Catiline and C. Antonius; with manye and fauorable murmuracions of the hole senate therunto. And in that same oracion, spekyng vnto Catiline (the whiche a fewe dayes befoze,

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was by preuarcacion and falsehod quite of petye theft) he prophesied and saide: O thou wretche, that doste not perceiue that thou were not clerely quite and deliuered by that iudgemente, but reserued to suffer a sharper and more greuous punishment. And at the very same tyme of election, a rumoure was spredde abrode amonge the commons, that certaine citizens were confederate and agreed together, to oppresse the common weale, and to murther and flee the Senatours. The ground and begynner of this rumoure was M. Curtius, felowe and partener of all their counsaylynges, the whiche kepte paramoure one Fulvia, not onely a ryghte noble but also a notable woman. This man beyng hollye geuen to bodelye pleasure, ydlenes, and vanities, to the intent he myghte throughe hope of the conspiracie allure her the better to loue and fauoure hym, he tolde to her all the counsayles of the conspiratoures. Nowe as the nature of women is, the whych can neyther kepe in secreete thynges, nor hyde priuities, and rather wyll a womanne quenche flame in a burnyng mouth, than keepe counsayle. So this Fulvia tolde vnto manye and diuers, all that euer she herde of Curtius, withoute namynge anye of the conspiratoures. This thyng holpe and greatlye furthered Cicero to bee consull. For all that desyred to saue and defend the common weale from that myschief, incontinent went and sticke to Cicero as to a man that naturally was inclined to reste and peace, and that had the knoweledge of warfare, and experience in all other kynde of busynesse. Thus than when it came to the election Cicero was chosen consull with such saueur and affection of all the people, as fewe of the nobilitie had ben, but neuer no newe gentlewomanne before him. Anto-  
nius

nus had a fewe mo Centurians than Catiline. And all be it that he had an yll name, for in Sillas victorie he behaued him selfe cruellye, and spoyled and pilled the countrey of Achaia, and beinge accused therof, refused to come and make answer, and was greatlye iudged to diuers men, and finallye for his dishonestie was by the senatours remoued and put out of the Senate: yet partly because the other desirers of the consulshipp were slacke, as I saide before, and partly for the noble remembraunce and worthy renoune of his father, he was better fauoured and had clerely more handes then Catiline. Also the playes and enterludes furthered greatly Antonius towards the opteyning of the consulshipp, the whiche he, fyrste of al the Romaines, made moste magnificently and richely on syluer stages: whome. A Murena ensued, the whiche the nexte yere folowinge caused the playes to be made before the peple with most gay and gorgeous apparayle, and also with syluer stages. Those playes maruaylously delected the people. And althoughe Cicero, that moste excellent lerned man was far distant from the opinion of the common peple (whiche also made thre playes in the time of his edile shipp) yet he sayde, that he also had a syluer stage, that required to haue the consulshipp. But the furpe of Catiline althoughe his petition tooke no place dimynished not, but dayly made greate preparation he assayed and solicited manye thinges, he appointed armour in diuers partes of Italye that were oportune for his purpose. He sente C. Manlius a braynfycke bolde man of his band into Petrutia, to styrre vp Sillas soludious and to prepare an armye, and he commanded hym to be redy in armes the .xii. daye of Nouembre. And sayde,

that



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that for as moche as fortune dyd ofte greatly helpe in chosinge of the consuls, he wolde yet ones againe the next yeare desire and make labour to be consull: and in the meane tyme to laye awayt to attrappe, Cicero, & to prepare to murther and sle the noble men of Rome. And within a fewe monthes after L. Lucullus, that most noble man, & that to speake in his cause was moste prompt and redye, accused hym amonge the murtherers, but thzough the helpe of manye noble men, and by the sentence and iudgement of a greate nombze, he was quite. This is he the noble and myghtye man Lucullus, that warred agaynst the moste puissant kinge Mithridates: from the whiche warre he returninge home as conqueroure, thzough detraction of his ennemies was let from his triumphe by the space of thze yeres, but by the worthy ayde and diligence of Cicero in hys consulshepp, he syttyng in a chaire mooste noble and ryche, was triumphantly conueyed into the Capytoll. And he was afterwarde mooste speciall ayde and helpe to Cicero, to quenche this ferefull firebrande of conspiracye. But after that Cicero had the firste daye of Ienuary taken on hym the rule and goueraaunce of the common weale, (the which thzough suspicion of the lawe Agraria, was full of trouble and feare) he deliuered the Senatoures and all other good honest men from drede.

The Power that had ben gyuen of the Decemviri by the lawe Agraria.  
if Cicero had not resisted. Cap. llii.

The Power  
of Decemviri.



THESE were certaine of the Protectours of the commontie, whiche indououred them to haue the lawe Agrariae creatinge the Decemviri with imperiall auctoritie, to be published

lyshed : to whome by that lawe it was permitted, to goe  
throughe the hole worlde with mooste hyghe and soue-  
rayne auctoritie , to depriue fre nations of their landes,  
to take kyngedomes frome whome they wolde , and to  
make and call kinges whome they pleased , to knowe  
and to hear the causes of al maner of peple, to take men  
wythout counsaile, to punyssh men withoute any appel-  
lacion , and it was permitted to theym for the space of  
fyue yeres, to iudge the consuls and protectours of the  
comontie, and no man myght iudge them. They myght  
remayne at Rome when they wolde, and mought be ab-  
sent when it was to them commodious. Also it was lau-  
full for them to deuide and sel all the fieldes that weere  
common in the countrey of Campana, Stellata, Bithi-  
nia, and the common fieldes that were in Baphlagonia  
in Bonto, Capadocia, in Macedonia, in Alexandria,  
in Affrica, and in Hispania. Further they myghte sende  
men to inhabite certeine places, or renewe the olde inha-  
bitours: and infinite power was geuen to them to make  
money innumerable. And truely they had the name of  
Decemviri, but in verry dede they shulde haue constitu-  
ted tenne Lordes ouer all the hole worlde. The Sena-  
tours were of these lawes soze in drede, and the people  
had therby great hope of large liberalitie and rewards,  
and of newe busineses for their profite. These pertur-  
bacions and troubles of the citie, weere verry meete and  
oportune for Catiline, and shulde mooste speciallve haue  
holpen forwarde the conspiracie, that gan to growe a-  
pace, if the mooste prudente pollicie of the consull had not  
prouided remedie for the matter. For Cicero calling the  
protectours of the commontie to parliamente before the  
Senatours, with suche greuous and sharpe wordes re-  
buked

*In*

*mm*

*mm*

## Conspiracy.

buked them, that Rullus a man full of audacitie and wordes, was soze afrayde, and durste not ones speake. After all, this Cicero percepuinge that they craked and boasted them selfe vehemently amonge the people, and that the people moste highly lauded and praysed them, he made an oration of suche grauitie that although the people had greatlye allowed the sozelayde lawe, yet in so turned mennes myndes, and playnelye declared the sayde lawe to be contrarype to the profyte of the commontie, that nothyng was so plausyble to the people as perswasion agaynste the lawe Agraria. Then the people forth with reprocued the lawe, and forsoke, contemned, and dispised theym that wente aboute to haue the lawe estahlyshed. Thus the lawe Agraria that had be alwayes so acceptable to the commons, and that had caused so many and so greate troubles and busynesses was all hole throughe the counsayle and eloquence of Cicero, repudiate and caste awaye. So pleasaunte and swete, of so greate strengthe, and so copius ware Ciceros wordes, that with tellynge his tale he coulde bring to passe what so euer he wolde.

**C**las what a time be we in: For nowe a dayes onelye the schole maysters in a maner do giue and lerne vs the preceptes of Eloquence: and euery man for desire of luer and money, gothe in hande to studie the lawe. Whereof it folowethe, that all we be but as baabes, and can not declare and expresse, that we haue conceiued in our myndes. But nowe let vs retourne agayne to our purpose.

Cicero



Cicero commeth by knowlege of the conspiracie. Cap. ix.

**T**he lawe Agraria beinge reiected, the consull intended fullie to take payne to redresse and amende manye thynges that were amisse in the common weale: And when he harde that manye tronblous counsailes agaynst the state and quiete of the comon weale were taken partely befoze and partely sihe he was choised consul, he toke payne bothe daye and nighte, to the ende to knowe what felowes they were, that enterprysed and went about suche matters. Thus moste diligently serchyng and inquiringe out the grounde of this rumour, he founde, that it came out fyrste by Fulvia and priuely he sente for her to come and speake with him, to the entente she shulde enforme hym what she knew of the conspiracye: he promysed her greate rewardes and also other whyle he thretned her: that without she dyd open and confesse to hym the trouthe by fayze meanes, he wolde constrayne her therto by torturs and paynes. After that Fulvia had tolde hym, that she herde it of Curius, incontinent he sent for Curius. And with moche fayze intreatinge, monishinge, wythe manye fayze promyses, and ofte threteninge, he broughte to passe that M. Curius opened vnto hym all the fashon and order of the conspiracie. Then Cicero exhorted Curius to dissemble the matter as moch as he might, and so sente hym away in greate hope and trust to be wel rewarded. But the consull perceyvinge that Catiline was chiefe and principall of the conspiracye, and dreyng least Antonius his companyon in office, a troublous man, and moste familiar frend to Catiline, shuld to hym consent

C.ij. and

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and with the hym conspyre (for he vnderstode nobre, that Catiline had attempted him therto, and that it was no thinge displeant to hym to heare speake of the conspi-  
racie) he leste not to accuse him, to steepe hym to escheue infamy, and prouoked and exhorted hym to folow that course, wherin is gotte honoure and laude, and to agre and conforme hym selfe to them that were in dede good and honozable, and to holde on that waye, that he sawe his noble auncestoures had gone. At length with wis-  
dome and lowely diligence he remoued him frome the counsailes of the conspyracy, and broughte hym to folow his minde.

Cicero gaue ouer his busynesse of Fraunce to C. Antonius, and reconciled the chivalrye of Rome to the fauour of the  
Sensours. Cap. x.

**T**HAT BY auctoritie of the Senatoures, the prouince of Fraunce was decreed too Cicero, the cause and matter of triumphes, with an armie and moneye appoynted and furnyshed at the ful. But he deemed it farre better for the common weale, if he coulde deliuer it frome the snares and deceytes at home, than if he shulde subdue that prouince to the publike weale, for the vertue is no greater to enlarge the marches of the empire, than to defend them that were al redy won. Nor the prayles of warre are no greater then the ciuil policies, for these consiste in counsaile and wisdom, the other stand in the handes of fortune. Wherefore the consull, assembled a greate multitude together, sayde  
C Bycause the time and nede of the comman weale so  
required

required it, he wolde not take on hym the busynes of  
fraunce. And lest that his companyon shoulde hyndre  
hym in defendynge the common weale, by hys wise  
dome brought about, that the busynes of fraunce was  
appoynted to Antonius. For if Cicero had not at that  
time by some honorable meanes remoued Antonius from  
counsaile with Catiline, and from the cite, I shal  
saye as I thynke, of trouthe the conspiracie had not ben  
quenched without great effusion of bloud. And bycause  
he saw, that Catiline laye dayly in awayte to attrappe  
hym: he went alwaye well and strongly accompanied  
with his frendes and vsed also and had aboute hym  
the safegarde of his lyfe a pyked sorte of lustye yonge  
men of Aretta. Furthermoze he made agrement betwene  
the knyghtes of Rome, and the Senatoures, with con  
corde beinge at al times moche necessarye, was in that  
troublous season of the common weale, moste nedeful  
and expedient. For befoze that tyme, the seperatinge of  
the chivalrie or gentylmen, from the senatours, caused  
manye yerres moste greuouse contencion and strife be  
twene them. For where as is diuision and part taking  
in a common weale, there muste nedes folowe not only  
sedicion, but also moste pestilent warres amonge them  
selues. For I maruaile not at all that Catiline wente  
aboute to trouble the common weale, seinge he was of  
nature inclyned, and with so manye occasions styxed  
and inflamed therto. This also made for hym, that euē  
the same tyme, theyr children that were banished came  
forthe and required the honorable roumes and offices:  
whiche if they had opteyned, it was thought of trouthe  
they wolde haue conspired with Catiline. And therfore  
the Consull, vppon his owne hatred, without promyse



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of rewarde, kepte them from election.

**W**hen all this was done, the consull thoughte it yet no tyme to disclose and open the conspiracie before the Senatoures. Therefore hee not with the publike ayde and strengthe, but with his priuate diligence, defended and kepte hym selfe from Catilines wyles and snares: and dayly wythstode and fordyd his driftes, abated his boldenes and courage, and resisted his mischeuous purpose, withoute publyke ruffelinge or sterpyng of the people. But the more prouision that the consull made, the more conspiracie grewe and increased.

Catilines endeour and diligence, in augmentyng the  
conspiracie. Cap. xl.



**L**RUELLY there was no strzete, no corner in all the cytie, but Catiline instanted, prouoked, tempted and stered. And to obeyne hys desyre, he suffered colde, thyrste, hunger and trauayle. But speciallye hee entyce the youthe. Some of them he hym selfe loued: and to somes loue he was ryght seruileable, for some he prepared and gotte harlottes, and for some horses: hee taughte some the frates of armes, some hee waanne wyth money, but many mo with his faire flatterynge wordes. And if he perceiued any of them to be a man of stoute and valiaunt courage: hym firste woulde he wyne by vertue: but afterwardes by diligence and costume, he wolde by littell and lyttell drawe hym headlonge into all vnlesful luste. For the maners and conditions of menne proceede neyther of nature her selfe (as many falsely do suppose) nor yet of lynage, but are oftentimes planted in vs by those, wyth whome we lyue and be

ae conuersant. Catiline (as sayde is) was maruaylous subtile and crafty, to styze yonge men to luste and pleasure: wherwith not onely that age, whiche is slipperye and vncersayne, but also graue men of auncientie, are attached, with this his varyable nature, he dayly augmented the nombze of the conspiratours.

**A**nd I am well assured, that Catiline at that tyme dyd not onely allure men to that myscheuouse dede, but also he made of counsaile with hym, certayne noble women which had liued wantonly, prodigallie, volup-  
tously, and horisshely. For by the he hoped, he moughte eyther get theyr husbands to take his parte, or elles to murther those that wolde not agree therto. Besydes al this, he dyd many thynges priuely: he had his assem-  
bes by nyghte and euer laide snares to attrap the cōsul.

**N**or Catiline letted not for al these so greate busyn-  
ses to let his mynde and courage to require the consull-  
shyp: but beinge glad and mery, accompanied with a lusty bande of yonge men, made ofte tyme lowlye suite to the peple, and submyttinge hym selfe to the tribunes made many great promyses, he humblye beseeched hee wyllyngety offerynge hym selfe prayed his fathers fren-  
des he sued and soughte to, he repayzed ofte to the hou-  
ses of some noble menne, by these craftes makynge hys waye to come to the consullshyp.

How Cicero opened the conspiracy befoze the  
Senatours. Cap. xii.



**T**HAN the consull consideringe theese two  
myschiefes, that hee coulde noo longer by  
his priuate diligence defende the common  
weale, and howe peryllous it were for the  
common

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common weale of Catiline shulde be consull: determy-  
ned to enforme the Senatoures of the matter, to pro-  
trouge the election of officers, and to make Catiline ha-  
ted for his conspiracie wherby he shulde be hyndered in  
his requeste of consulshyp. For rumours, yea though  
they be false, and a feyned tale troubleth all to gether  
and chaungeth holpe the opinion of the electoures. Thus  
when they were assembled in parliament, he instructed  
them, how Catiline and other, assocate with the hym in  
that mischiefe and madde dede, were secretly agreed to  
oppresse the common weale, to slee the Senatours and  
murther the citizens. Than was it decreed, that on the  
mozowe shulde be none election to thende they mought  
in parliament treat of these matters.

Catiline  
openeth  
hymselfe  
to the  
nate.

On the mozowe, the consull opened in the parlyas-  
mente house manye thynges of the conspiracye: and de-  
maunded Catiline, if he wolde oughte saye, touchinge  
those matters, that were layed to his charge. But Ca-  
tiline, althoughe he were full of all fraude and lyeinge,  
and whiche with greate diligence and craft augmented  
those vices, vnto whiche he was naturally inclined: yet  
beinge pricked with the his conscience, dyd not soo moche  
clere and purge, as he opened and shewed hym selfe fau-  
ty. For he saide than, The common weale had two bo-  
dies, one weake with a sycke feble heade: the other stroge  
without a head. To this body, syth it had of hym wel de-  
serued it, he wolde be heade as longe as he liued. The  
weake bodye with a sycke feble heade, he called the con-  
sent and agrement of good men together, the whych he  
wolde they shulde vnderstande, myght easely be broken  
and ouercome of the other sorte (leude and naught) syth  
he was theyr capitaine.

But



**C** But the Senate at that tyme vsed great myldnes, or rather pacience, that wolde not, concerninge those matters decre any thyng againste Catiline: namelpe sythe he a fewe daies befoze whan Cato (the perpetuall ennemie of dishonest and naughty persons) thretned hym to be punyshed, aunswered and saide: If there were any fire prepared to burne his goodes, he wolde not quench it with water, but with ruine. But therfore they were not harde to hym, partely because they dradde nothyng, partely because they dradde, and partely because some fauoured hym. Yet I harde say that this rumour spred abrode in the cite, dyd greatlye hynder Catiline in requeste of the consulsyppe, althoughe manpe supposed it to be false.

**I**n the meane whyle, the tyme instantynge to choose the consuls, Catiline hauing prepared a greate compaignye (as it semed) determined if he were not elected consull, to make a slaughter in the fielde, and to flee hys Competitors, Seruius Sulpice Postumus, L. Murena, D. Syllanus, but namelpe M. Tully the consull. But the consull, whan the daye of election was come, descended into the fielde, enuironed about wyth a great route of his friendes, and with a large and bryghte harborion, not whiche myght defende hym. (For Catiline vsed not to stryke at the sydes or bealpe, but at the head and necke) but that al good men shuld take hede, when they sawe the consull in drede and peryl (whych chaunced afterwarde) to runne to succoure and helpe hym. Thus the consull beyng defended wyth strengthe and power of his frindes, wythstode the vengeable purpose of Catiline. But D. Syllanus, and L. Murena were chosen consuls, the whiche Murena was after accused

Competitor is he that deserveth the office.

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of ambicio, by Seruice Sulpice, and M. Cato: Whom Cicero the consul defended, whose moſte goodlye oration, intituled *De L. Murena*, remaineth to this daye.

Catiline  
prepareth  
all thinges  
for warre.

¶ After Catiline perceyued he coulde not be conſull to trouble and bere the common weale, beyng a priuate perſon, determined to make warre. And ſo all the money that he coulde heape together, he cauſed to be carryed to Manlius beyng at Feſulas: and to hym he ſente before axes, roddeſ, hoynes, trumpettes, armour, banners, and ſtremars for warre, and alſo that ſame ſyluer Eggle, to the worſhip wherof he at home in his houſe had made an oratorie. Moreover he ſente L. Septimius into the countrey Picenium, and C. Julius into Apulia, an other into the countrey Camertes, an other into the dominion of Fraunce, to ſtyze vp thoſe countreys: for into theſe partes as it were an infection, this myſchiefe was entred. And he at home in Rome attempted manye thynges. At the laſte the .xxvi. daye of October he determined with a ſtrong power violently to entre into the court, and after he had ſlaine the conſul, and a great part of the Senatours, to go to Manlius wher his army laye. But M. Cicero watching night and day and knowing theſe matters, about the .xix. daye of October, called a greate counſayle. He began with a proeme farre fetched, to declare the vengeable diſtes & miſcheuous imaginacions of Catiline, hee ſhewed them what ſtrength and power he had prepared to ſlee the Senatours, and how he had ſente C. Manlius into Hetruria to reyle an armye, and that he wolde be in harneys erre the .xxiii. daye of October, and how he ſente C. Julius into Apulia, to ſtyze vp the ſhepherdes. He ſayde, hee feared not Manlius nor Julius, but he was in drede of thoſe

The court  
was the  
place wher  
the Senatours  
ſate

those whom he dayely sawe by ag bp & doctore in places  
of moſte aſſemblye, yea whom he ſawe come into the Se  
nate houſe amonge them; by whome the ſlaughter, bur  
ninges, & deſtruction of the common weale, was prepared  
**M**ore ouer he diligently admoniſhed the Senatonres  
to be ware of ſuch perylls that were imminent, to prouide  
for the ſafegarde of theyr countrey, to defende and main  
teine the common weale, for if they made not good pro  
uiſion, it was not the publycacyon of the lawe Agraria,  
nor a common ſedition, or ſuche a hurte as beinge ſome  
tyme harde ſpokenne of, is lamented but thoſe felowes  
haue ſecretely concluded, to burne this cite, to mour  
der and ſlee the citizens, and to extinguiſhe the Romaines  
name, He ſayde, there was no nation, no kynge, that  
was able to make warre to the Romaines: there was  
not outwarde danger to be dredde: within the cite were  
the ſnares layde, within was the peſtilence ſhutte, with  
in was the Tropan horſe, of whiche ſo longe as he was  
conſul, they ſhulde neuer be oppreſſed ſleepynge: he ſaide  
theyr ennemyes were not at the gates (whiche were a  
thyng moſte greuous) but in the cite, in the markette  
place in the palays. After this he ſhewed howe thys  
great miſchiefe myghte be remedyed, finallye he admo  
niſhed the conſpiratoures to leaue theyr furyouſneſſe, to  
laye noo more ſnares for his diſtruction, and noo more  
to mynde murders, burninges, robberyes: and to per  
ſwade them ſelfe that the conſuls were righte vigilante  
about the common weale, and that there were many no  
ble officers, manye valyent and worthy men, and ſuche  
as moſte hartely loued the common weale, whiche wold  
more ſharply do theyr endeuour for thz profyt publike,  
then they wold for the deſtruction therof: and that they



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Shulde trust no more vpon the slaughter of riche men,  
 so longe as he was consull, for seinge that al consuls  
 shulde be careful and diligent to defende the common  
 weale yet oughte they mooste specially which by the on-  
 ly fauour of the people of Rome and not for any noble  
 actes images or commendacion of theyre auncetours  
 were made consuls. He sayde, they dyd nothings, that  
 went aboute nothings, nor imagined any thyng, that  
 coulde be hyd from him, I knowe (q he) whom ye haue  
 sent into Hetrurya to reyle warre, whom into Apulia,  
 who in to the countrepe of Dice, and who is sente into  
 Fraunce. He sayde, they were farre wyde, if they suppo-  
 sed, that he wolde vse them alway gentelly. He sayd he  
 had not tolde all, and howe he had suffered moche. And  
 that now it was nedefull to do sharpe punishmente:  
 And that he mighte so do, he had examples of his prede-  
 cessours: whiche oftentymes vpon theyr owne mindes  
 dyd put suche mischeuous and vngratious persons to  
 deathe. He sayde more ouer, he marueyled greately, if  
 they could not lyue honestly, why they wolde rather die  
 shamefully. Fynally he sayde, that not onely men, but  
 also all the goddes wolde resiste and withstande suche  
 and so great cruelty.

The decree of the Senate, that the common weale shulde  
 take none harme. Cap. xlii.



A be it that there were manye, that gaue  
 no credence to the consuls woordes for  
 the greatnesse of the cryme, and manye  
 throughe fooly shewes coude not thynke it  
 to be so, and manye of the leude and naugh-  
 tye sorte fauoured the matter: yet the Se-  
 nate

nate perswaded by certayne noble and balliant meene, made a decree, that the consuls shoulde take hede, that the common weale toke none harme. This decree was not wonte to be made, but agaynste detestable lawes, whan the people was moued to departe and leaue the citie, whan the citie was in greate trouble and busynes or in feare of sedicion. And by that one verse or decree the greatestt power of all Rome was giuen to the consuls as to reyle an armye: to make warre, and to be the mooste hyghe iudges in all causes, as well at home as forth in warfare.

Whan the .xxvi. day of Octobze came, by reason that the consull had layed a garison of men a boutte the Palatice Catiline coude not accomplishe his purpose. He quickely bethoughte hym to doo an other feate. The towne preneste standynge not farre from Rome is by naturall situation of the place verye stronge: the same, for many oportunities of the warre, Catiline purposed the fyrste daye of Nouembre, to take with assault in the nighte. But the consull, forseinge that in his mynde, furnysched that fortreffe strongly with men of armes. Wherfoze Catiline enterprysed that feate in vaine. But afore that there chaunced a thyng (I thynke, euen by the goodnesse of god) the whiche some what troubled Catlines mynd. For G. Piso (of whom we spake before) in whome Catilene had greatestt confidence and hope of victozye: was slayne of certayne Spanyarde horse men or, as some other saye he was kild by Pompeys horse men. And hard it was to iudge whether his deathe was moze ioyful and pleasaunt to good men, or heuy and sorrowful to the conspiratours.

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How Manlius and other Catiline companions prepared  
warre abrode. Cap. xlii.

**I**N THE meane whyle, Manlius wyth  
faire promysse reysed the commons in He-  
tulia, that were brought lowe with the ca-  
lamitie of Syllas tyme, and very desirous  
of a comotion. farther he allured into this  
hope of robbery and spoyle theus, shepherdes, and al  
sortes of men that he thought mete for the warre. Of  
the multitude that gathered to him from Aretia and Fe-  
sules, he made a great army, which remembreinge Syl-  
las victorie, and beinge accustomed to robbe and spoyle  
desyred greatlye ciuil warre. They also, that Catiline  
had sente into dyuers places, imagined in any thynges  
for cloustringe to gether in companyes by night, they  
prepared weapons, they styred vp seruauntes and sla-  
ues, they prouoked vnthriftes to violence deedes, to  
slaughter and robbery: places mete for theyre purpose  
they besieged with armed men, and dyd put men in gre-  
ter feare than ieopardy.

When those newes were harde at Rome, all the citie  
was troubled, ful of heynesse, ful of feare. There was  
none euell, none aduersitie but good men feared it, and  
the leude and euil sorte looked for it. The thretninge  
wordes of Catiline were bozne and spoken of al aboute  
his lookes, his runninge vp and downe, his riottous  
route about hym, his cloustringe together of most leud  
and naughty persons, caused greate drede and sedition  
in the citie. The ciuile dissention, that had ben in ty-  
mes past, were freshe in euery mans syghte, the mys-  
erable behydings, the spoyle and robbing of honest men  
the



the market place heaped full of deade bodyes, and ouer  
 flowen with bloude, the memozie of those thynges made  
 the citie sorowfull, and to lyue in great feare. The pro-  
 digies, and wonderfull tokens that felle, augmented  
 the feare of the people. For it was reported, that M. Me-  
 rennius, a free man of Rome made by Pompey, was in  
 a fayre clere daye slayne wylhe thonder. In the nighte  
 tymes flames of fyre and marueylous burninge of the  
 ayre: there was harde noyse and clatteringe of harnyes  
 thunder clappes, and horryble erthequakes, wylth manye  
 ny other terryble and wonderfull thynges. For the mone  
 fayled in clerenesse, and the sonne shone moche brighte  
 and hotter than he was wonte to do. Thus wyterh Cy-  
 cero in the seconde of his consulschyppe. More ouer he  
 wyrteth in the same boke that the apperinge of blasinge  
 sterres, and dyuers terrible shapess sene bye nyghte, and  
 the hedy motion of the plantes, and the vehemente run-  
 nyng together of the starres dyd pronostyrate and syg-  
 nyfie thys conspyracie. But yet the southsayers answer  
 troubled mooste mennes myndes. For L. Cotta, and L.  
 Torquatus beinge consuls, many toures of the Capy-  
 toll were synytenne downe wylth thunder, the images of  
 the goddes immortall, and of the aunciente noble Ro-  
 maines were ouerthrowen wylth lightnyng, and also  
 the image of Romulus wylth his nurse Lupa were stri-  
 ken from heauen, and the brassen tables of the lame  
 moltenne: the Southsayers aunswere, that all those  
 thynges betokened burnyng, slaughters, robbinges  
 spolynges of temples, mooste bloude warre amonge  
 them selves, and mooste bytter bondage and thraldome  
 of the Romaynes. And soo they commaunded a ryghte  
 greate unage of Jupiter, to be made, and the same to be  
 se

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set on the toppe of a toure of the capitoll, & a ffe boarde, to loke toward the market place and the palace: which image being set vp they trusted, that Jupiter, Iustringe and beholdinge all thynges, wolde discouer the counsailes & intentes of those vngratious hopelostes. Therfore euery man fearinge, and hastinge (as in peryll it is ofte wonte to be) they prayed to theyze goddes, and worshipped them, the matrones in deuoute wyse ranne to the aulters, they made bowes, they lamented, and bewailed theyz lyttel yonge childzen, what soeuer noyse or rushe they hard, they fered it was Catiline & Manlius

**T**hen it was Decreed, that who so euer wolde detect the conspiracye, that was made agaynste the common weale, if he were a bandman, hee shoulde haue his free dome, and an hundred sexters: if he were a free manne, beside perdone of punishment for the matters, he shuld haue two hundred thousand sexters. Also it was decreed by the senate, that al places shulde be fortified woth the men of armes, and that the inferiour officers to se that good watche and warde were kept throughe out al the citie, Furthermooze theye decreed, that M. Martius shulde be sente to Iesulas, M. Metellus Creticus into Apulia, the Pretours, M. Pompeius to Capua, M. Metellus Celer, into the cuntrey Picenum and France And to these men it was permitted to reyse an armye, and to do all other thynges for the profyte and nede of the common weale.

**T**he oration of Manlius ambassadours of M. Martius. Ca. xv



When M. Martius was come in to Hetruria Manlius sente ambassadours to hym, whose wordes were in maner after this sorte.

We

**W**e take both god and man to wytnesse, that we dyd not arme vs to make warre on our countrey, oz to doo any man wzonge oz iniurye: but to kepe and defend our bodyes from the crueltie: of the pzetoꝝ and vslurers. Whose nature is soo fierce and fell, that not withstanding they haue taken and spoyled vs of our goodly manours, landes, and possessions, and fynallye of all oure goodes, and raymente to our backes, and haue lefte vs nothyng, but calamitie and nedynesse: yet not beinge satisfied with these our myseryes, they wolde haue vs in continuall darkenesse, in perpetuall bandes, and closed in stronge pꝛysons, to ende our liues. Theyꝝ auarice whiche they can not satysfie with huge sommes of money, they couet to contente with miseries and bloude of vs citezens. And seinge we haue delyuered bp all that euer we hadde, saue our lyues, ne haue reserued to oure selues nothyng that was lefte vs foꝝ a monumente oz remembꝛance of our ancestours, we humbly pray, that heinge spoyled of honour, fame, and goodes, it maye be lesfull foꝝ vs to vse the benefyte of the lawꝝ, whiche permytteth, that after a man hath losse his patrymony, his body shulde be fre out of durance, and that this benefite shuld not be takē from vs, we lawely beseeche y<sup>e</sup> Senate and people of Roome, Our pzedecestoures (quod they) oftentymes contented and payed mennes dettes of the common treasure. Money of the common treasure hath ben manye a tyme dealed and distrybuted amonge the people. The commons verye often haue armed theym selves and taken parte together agaynst the nobles foꝝ honours, ryches, and power. We wil no riches noꝝ power haue, we desire not so moche as that, that is taken from vs. Let other take the honours, the ryches, the

prouinces



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provinces, the lordshippes, the triumphes. The blurers, worthy Capitaine, do possesse oure manoures, our houses are open to them, and shutte agaynste vs: oure great householdes and famylie are at their commaundement, we haue not one seruaunt: wee be bare and haue nothyng to helpe oure selfe wyth: and are contente to suffer and take pacience. What wyll they more: why do they pursue vs: why do they so sharpe assaile vs? O good lord, what beastlye crueltye is this: They wyll not suffer vs mooste wretched captiues to peryshe in our lamentable myseries, they wyll bereue vs of our lyues, the whiche we leade forth in greateste turment and sorrowe: and seyng they be of all other mooste cruell, methynke it shulde be greater pleasure for them to suffer vs to lyue thus wretchedly, than to slee vs. Wee beseeche the noble capitaine that it maye bee lesfull for vs to lyue in nedynesse, that it maye be lesfull for vs, seyng our goodes be gone, after the maner of our forefathers, to haue our bodies at lybertie, that the blurers beyng contente wyth our goodes, shall not desyre our lyues and bloude to be spylte: that seyng they haue berefte vs of all that euer we had, that they also take not from vs this lyght, common to vs all. Whych thyng worthy capitaine, if we can not opteyne, wee haue determined, rather to dye wyth manye, then to peryshe alone.

**C.** Marcus answered the ambassadours and sayde that they had done bothe folyshelye and proudeleye, that they of their owne myndes, agaynste the lawes, and maners of their forefathers, had armed them selves. It behoued them, if they wolde haue had any thyng, to haue asked it of the Senate, and not to haue runne to haruerys: The Senate and the people of Rome haue alway  
ben

ben founde mercifull, and that nowe also, if they wolde require any thyng, they shulde fyrste laye awaye theyr harneys: lest it shoulde seme, that they eyther by violence, or els for drede wold opteyne theyr purpose. And so than in lowly and humble wise, to go vnto the Senate, and aske forgiveness for theyr offences: and that he doubted not, but they shulde optayne what soo euer they desyred of the senate. For the Senate hath alway bled suche iustice and gentilnes, that they neuer denyed any man theyr helpe, that iustely desyred it. And that theyr parlyament house had alwaye ben for al nations, and namely for such as were in misery and wanted succour, a castel and refuge: The ambassadours with that answer, returned agayne to Manlius.

The fury and fiercenesse of Catiline. Cap. xvi.



AND all be it fierce Catiline sawe the cytie strongelye kepte and defended wythe good watche and warde, and the consull verve circumspecte and diligente to make prouision to withstande hym: yet he prepared and attempted his purpose, his cruell mynde was stil occupied therbypon. But he did nothyng, he pursued nothyng, he wrote about or pretended nothyng, but M. Cicero knewe it, and dyd lette it: yet for al that he woulde not cesse to folowe hys wycked will and purpose. Such a greate fury, the companion of mischiefe and audacitie, had embraced his vnbzidled minde and importune nature, that no drede, no reason, no peryll, none aduersitie, nor all thinges that went ageynste hym, coude make him reuoke his beherement desire. Therefore when he, this hopeloste, sawe

that

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that none of his attemptes went forward, he thought now to proue what he coulde do apertlye and by open warre: for those thynges, that he had attempted priuely, came foule and crokedlye to passe. He determyned to take his iourney to Manlyus and to augmente the army, befoze the Pretours had gathered theyr strengthe togther: and withe baners displayed to haste theym to the cite.

And soo in the deade tyme of the nighte he assembled together in the house of M. Lecca, all the chiefe of the conspiracy, to councel with them, how this warre shulde be maynteyned, This nighte of all times was mooste sharpe and bitter. Than all the partes and prouinces of Italie were distributed, than the daye that Catiline shulde take his iourneie to the armye, was appoynted, than they ordered, in what state all other shulde stande that remayned behynd, than they constituted a description thzoughe al the citie of slaughter and burninge. But those thynges were after this maner and fourme diuided amonge them: that Catiline shoulde take his iourney to the army. That Antonius shulde take and posses Tuscayne Marcus Ceparus Apulia, C. Marcellus Capua, and other shulde haue other places of Italie Lentulus shuld remayne in the citie Cassius and Statilius shulde set fyze on. xij, partes of the citie, Cetegeus, and with hym Gabinius shoulde haue the procurement of the murther and slaughter that shulde bee done, The nighte that they intended to accomplishe these thinges they ordeined also. that whan Catiline with his armie shulde approche the citie. L. Bestia shuld make an oracion to stee the people to the enuye and hatred of Cicero, bycause he hadde worthfully pro-  
uoked



uoked Catiline to reyse warre, and by that token, the same nyght folowinge, enery man shulde go about hys busynesse. These thynges thus ordeyned and done, Catiline saide, one thyng letted hym moche, that Cicero lyued: and that his mynde and wil was, before he tooke his iourneye to the armye, to oppresse hym: for with his wytte and counsell he wolde be a greate lette and hynde raunce to them. Than C. Cornelius, and L. Murgunteus, knightes of Rome desyred that they might haue the doinge therof, and promysed that they wolde go ere lye in the mornyng to salute hym, and so for good loue and amitie beinge let in, they wolde sle hym in his bed. But the consull, hauynge knowledge of this thyng by D. Curius, fortified and fenced his house with greate strengthe of men: and kepte his gates shutte agaynste theym that came to see hym in the morninge. Some wyte that it was not L. Murgunteus, but C. Cethegus with C. Cornelius, that vndertoke to see the consull. But it appereth in Saluste and Cicero, that they erre in thys, as they do in many other thynges.

¶ When the conspiratoures had ordeyned, instituted, and prepared those thynges, the consull's mynde was troubled with wame great and greuous thoughts whi the wolde not suffer hym to take rest neyther uight nor daye. Fyrst he was verye careful how he myghte defende the common weale, whiche was at that tyme a great thing and right diffieile seinge he had to do, with a man so valiante, so behement, so cruel, so wylye and so watchfull aboute myschiefe. Secondly he was careful for the treason and snares, that were daylye so dyuyfied and layde for hym, that it semed they coulde by no meanes be eschewed for the secrete and hid hatreds

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are moze peryllous, than the manifest and open. For he that is an open ennemye, in takinge good hede may easily be eschewed, but the cloyed ennemyes often tymes oppzessen befoze it can be perceyued what it is. Wherefoze seinge that al the conspiratours desyzed much to destroye the consul, and who they were, was verye harde to knowe, he must nedes mistruste some of his frendes. This also was an other cause whyche much woued the mynde of the righte worthy consull, that he coude with no diligence, with no defence, with noo meanes turne Catilines courage. Wherefoze the consul beinge vered and troubled weth these so manie and so great difficulteis, and that at one selfe tyme determyned to dysclose the matter to the sanete, for so moche as those matters whiche he wolde declare and semed vnto some incredible greate heynousenes of the mischief e, in the ofte and manye thynges openynge to the Senate, his wordes shulde be the better beleued.

Cicero and Catiline in the Senate. Cap. xvil.

**S**O THE nexte daye after that he was almoste slayne at home in his house, he assembled the Senatoures in the temple of Iupiter Stator: and dysclosed to theym all the matter: whether whan Catiline was come, whether it were to auoyde suspition, or elles to clere hym selfe, no man saluted hym, And moze ouer many of the Senators, on that syde that he came, forsoke theyze seates, and lefte theym boyde and bare. Than M. Tullius thoughte it beste with an oration (wherin he waas excellent) to feare and abashe hym, and to commaunde hym to departe out of the cite: thinkynge this in his mynde, that

that if al the conspiratours with Catiline wolde depart out of the citie, they might be easely subdued abrode: or if they tarped behynde, without Catiline, they shuld be but weake and feble. For Catiline alone in the city was dreadefull. He serched out all thynges, he most diligently prouided all thynges: he knewe howe to preuente, to begyle, to deceyue, to dissemble, to attempte, to sollicite, to perswade, to moue, to watche, to labour, to trouble, for the while, and to wreste and bowe hither and thither. He appoynted euery one of the conspiratours certayne busynes to do: but yet whan he had commaunded any thyng to be done, he thoughte it was not accomplished, excepte he him selfe ouersawe all thynges, he ranne aboute he made prouysyon. So that if the consul had not dryuen hym oute of the citie, surely the common weale had suffred great calamity. Some may well say: Wherfore than dyd not the consull apprehend and take hym: why dydde he not put hym to deathe? I answer. Bycause he thought it not profytable. For excepte it were a fewe good men, all wolde saye, that Cicero had not done nobly but cruellye: and also he well perceyued, that by his deathe the conspiracy shoulde be a lytel whyle repressed, but not extincted for ever: for being oppressed with enuy, he could not pursue the other conspiratours. Therfore for these causes, coueting to driue Catiline out of the citie he rose vp, and with this most godly oration he inuehed against L. Sergius Catiline

The oration of M. T. Cicero agaynste L. Sergius Catiline.

**H**ow longe wilt thou o Catiline, abuse our patience: How longe shal this thy fury delude vs: To what ende shal the brag of thine unbridled boldenesse



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boldenesse come: Do not the nightelye defences of the  
Palaice, the watchynge of the citie, the feare of the peo-  
ple, the concourse and agrement of good men, this most  
stronge place of the Senate, the regarde and counte-  
naunce of these men nothyng moue the: Dost thou not  
perceyue that thy counsaile is bewrayed: Dost thou not  
se, that thy conspiracye is openly knowen to all the Se-  
natours: Dost thou thinke, that any of vs is ignozante  
what thou dydst the laste nyght, and the nighte befoze,  
where thou wast, whome thou dydst assemble together  
or what counsaile thou tokeste: Oh what a worlde is  
this: Oh what maners be these: The Senate doth vn-  
derstande this thinge, the consull dothe se it, and yet he  
lyueth. Liueth he: Ye verye, he commeth also into the  
parlyamente house, and is parte taker of the common  
counsaile. He dothe make, and with his eies dothe ap-  
poynte euery on of vs that shall be slayne. And we seme  
to playe the men for the common weale, if we eschewe  
the fury and violence of this man. Thou oughtest Ca-  
tiline longe sence to haue ben put to deathe by the com-  
maundement of the consull, Thys pestilence and mys-  
chiefe, whiche longe ago thou dydst imagin ageynst vs  
shulde haue be layde vpon thyne owne necke. If the no-  
ble man P. Scipio, the highe byshoppe, and a priuate  
man, slewe Tiberius Gracchus, meanelye troublynge  
the state of the common weale, shall we the Consulles  
suffre Catiline, whiche despyeth with fyre and slaughter  
to destroye the hole worlde: I ouerpasse the olde histo-  
ryes, how M. Tiberius Hala slewe with his own hand  
Sp. Maelius that wente aboute to alter the common  
weale. Suche vertue and power in olde time was in  
this common weale, that the worthy men wolde punish  
a per-

a pernicious and a naughty citizen more sharply, than  
 a cruell ennemie. We haue agaynst thee Catiline a be-  
 heiment and greuous decre, wee lacke no counsaile, wee  
 lacke none auctoritie of thys byghe court, concernynge  
 the state of the common weale: But we the consuls, wee  
 the consuls (I speake it openly) be to sharke in this mat-  
 ter. In tyme past the Senate decreed, that L. Opini-  
 us the consull shulde take hede that the common weale  
 toke no damage: and the selfe same day the noble bozne  
 man C. Gracchus was slayne, for certeyne suspicions  
 of a sedicion. And M. Fuluius, whiche had ben consull  
 was slayne with hys childzen. And by suche another  
 decree, the common weale was committed to C. Ma-  
 rius and L. Valerius the consuls. Byd deathe and the  
 punyshment of the common weale stay L. Saturnius  
 the protectour of the commontie, and C. Seruilius one  
 daye: But this is the .xx. daye that we haue suffered the  
 sharpe auctoritie of these woorthye Senatours to waxe  
 dull and blunte. For we haue a lyke decree, but it is clo-  
 sed vp in tables, and as it were put vp in the shethe: by  
 the whiche decrees of the Senatours, thou Catiline shul-  
 dest forth with haue ben put to deathe. But thou arte a  
 lyue, and doste lyue, not to cease and leaue of, but to con-  
 fyrmie and increase thy boldenes. My desyre chosen fa-  
 thers is to bee courteise and mylde, but it is not my de-  
 syre in so great iopardy of the common weale, to be sene  
 dissolute or neglygent. Surely I do nowe condemne  
 my selfe of folye and wickednes. There is an armie in  
 Italy reyled by agaynst the common weale, they haue  
 pytched at Felulas in Hetruia. The nymbre of our e-  
 nemies dothe increase daylye more and more. But the  
 chiefe of that armie, and capitaine of our ennemies, ye

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se here wythin the walles: yea in the senate, dayely imagynynge some greate myschiefe againste the common weale. If I (o Catilynes) shulde commande the to be taken and put to death, I neede not to doubt, but that all good men wolde saye, that I were rather to stowe than to cruel in thys deepe. Neuerthelesse, it that oughte to haue ben doone longe sence, I am not yet (for certeyne skyll) determined to do. But I wolle then at length put the to death, whan there shall no man be found so leud, so farre past all hope, nor so lyke thee in condicions, the whiche wyll not plainlye affirme that I haue doone it ryghteouslye. As longe as there is anye man that dare defend the, thou shalt liue: and so thou shalt liue as thou lyuest now, beset about wyth my manifold and sure defences, that thou shalt not once moue or stirr ageynste the comon weale. Also many eyes & eares shal (as thei haue doone styll hitherto) warelye watche and harken what thou doest and sayest, and thou not perceiuyng it. For what shuldest thou Catiline yet looke for: if neyther the obscuritie and darkenes of the nyghte can hyde thy detestable assemblies, nor no priuate house with his wals keepe in the voice of thy conspiracie? If euerye thyng come to lyght, if euery thyng burst oute, change now thy thy mynde, geue credence to me, forgette the murder and burnynge, that thou intendest. Wee vnderstande and knowe all thy secreete workynge and imaginations. If thou hast forgot, I wol put thee in mynd of them. Dost thou not remembre that I sayd in the senate the .xii. kalendes of Nouember, that by a certayne daye (whiche shulde bee the .ix. kalendes of Nouember) C. Manlius the manne of garde and chiefe dober in thy bolde enterpryse, wolde be in harneys? Was I deceiued  
Catiline



Catiline, eyther in the thyng, whiche is so greafe, soo  
 cruell, and so incredible oꝛ elles in the daye: I sayd far-  
 thermore in the senate, that thou hadste determined to  
 murder the noble men the .v. kalendas of Nouembꝛe, e-  
 uen than whan many of the chiefe rulers were fled fro  
 Rome, not so moche for theyꝝ owne sauegarde, as to re-  
 presse and withstande thy detestable enterpryse. Canste  
 thou deny, but that (throughe my strength, prouision,  
 and diligence) thou were so beset on all sydes, that thou  
 couldeste not ones sturre oꝛ moue ageynst the common  
 weale, whan thou saydst, thou wast yet well contente  
 (though the other were fledde) with the slaughter of vs  
 that tarped styll: what, hopedst not thou the fyrste daye  
 of Nouembꝛe, to haue taken Bꝛeneſte by assaulte in the  
 nighte: Dyddest not thou perceyue that the towne was  
 strongly fortified, defended, and kepte by my comman-  
 dement, by my garryson, warde and watches: Thou  
 doste nothyng, thou purposeste nothyng thou image-  
 nest nothyng whiche I uot onelye here of, but also see  
 it, and playnely perceyue it. I knowlege nowe with me  
 that other nighte: and thou shalte vnderstande, that I  
 am moze vigilant sharpe and quicke for sauegarde and  
 defence of the comynon weale, than thou arte to destroy  
 it. I saye, thou camest the other nighte amonge the fal-  
 carios (I will be playne with the) Thon and maup oꝛ  
 ther, felowes of thy madnesse and mischiefe, assembled  
 together the laste nighte in the house of M. Leca: Da-  
 rest thou deny thys: why spekest not: If thou woldeste  
 denye it, I can proue it. For I se here in the Senate  
 some of the: that were there together with the. O good  
 lord where be we: what a common weale haue we: In  
 what citie lyue we: There are here, even here, amonge

h: callen  
 the conspira-  
 tors fal-  
 carios, for  
 as wth  
 suches they  
 purposed  
 wth the  
 sword and  
 fyre to oꝛ-  
 uercome al  
 the cytye.

### Conspiracy.

vs, of our sorte most honorable fathers, in this moste graue and constant counsaile of al the worlde the whiche imagin to destroy vs, this cite yea and the whole worlde I the consul doo see them, and desire to knowe your myndes concerninge the common weal. For those which I ought to haue dispatched with the sword I haue not yet wounded with my worde. Than thou Catline, wast that nighte in Lercas house, there thou dydst distribute and diuide the prouinces and thyres of Italye, thou dydst appoynte whither euery man shulde goo: thou cholest out those that thou woldeste leaue at Rome, and those that shoulde go with the: thou dydste lymitte what partes of the cite shuld be set on fyre: and that thou woldeste than departe out of the cite, Thou saydst, that there was now none other let of thy iournepe, but that I lyued. There were two knightes of Rome stepte forth to ryd thee of this care whiche promysed the same nighte, that they a littell befoze daye, wolde slee me in my bedde. I was scarcely departed from you, whan we sate in counsaile, but that I had knowledge of all these matters, I fortifyed myne house more strongly than it was befoze, with men of armes and other prouision: whan the selfe same men came, whiche thou dydst sende to salute me in the morninge I shutte them out, of whose commynge at the same tyme, I enforced manye noble men befoze. Beinge thou Catline that this that I haue sayde is true, gette the forwarde thither: as thou haste appoynted: depart ones oute of the cite, the gates are open, trudge forth. Thy souldours that Manlius hath reysed desyre the, theyre capitaine, ouer longe taryenge from them. Take all thy felowes with the, or at the leaste wise the moste part of them.

them. Make cleane the citie of them, Thou shalt rydde  
 me from greate drede so that the walle be betwene me  
 and the. Thou canste nowe no lenger be conuersaunte  
 with vs: I can not beare it, I can not endure it, I may  
 not suffer it. We oughte highlie to thanke the gods im-  
 mortall, and Jupiter Stator the moste aunient defen-  
 der of this citie, that we haue so oft tymes escaped this  
 so cruell, so horryble and so greuouse pestylence to the  
 common weale. The good estate of the common weale  
 shuld not so oft stande in daunger in (me) one man. As  
 longe as thou Catiline dydst lye in awaye for me ele-  
 cted to be consull not wyth the publike aide of the citie,  
 but wyth mine owne pryuate diligence I defended my  
 selfe. But at the laste election of the consuls, whan thou  
 woldeste haue slaine me the consull, and thy competency-  
 tours in the field. I wyth the helpe and strength of my  
 frendes, withstode thy detestable enterpryse without a-  
 ny bypore or publyke ruffelynge amonge the people.  
 And as often as thou wentest aboute to hurt me, I my  
 selfe withstode the, not withstandinge that I saw, that  
 my destruction wold rebound to the great calamity of  
 the common weale. But now it is manifeste that thou  
 goost abonte to destroye the common weale, the temples  
 the goddes immortal, the edifices of the citie, to slea al  
 the good citizens and finally thou callest al Italy to vt-  
 ter ruine and desolacion. Wherfoze bycause I dare not  
 do it that best as a most agreable wyth the discipline of  
 our forefathers I wol do that y<sup>e</sup> is most easy touching  
 seuerite & most profitable for the comon weale. For if I  
 shuld comand the to be put to death: the other conspira-  
 tours, which is a stronge band, shuld remayne styl in a  
 common weale. But if thou (wherunto I exhorted the  
 D, iij. while



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while ere) woldest go thy waye, the great and stinking pompe of thy companions, so hurtfull to the common weale, shulde be drawen out of the citie. What meanest thou Catiline? Doubtest thou Catiline, to do that thing at my commaundement, which a thou were willinge to do of thy selfe? The consull commaundeth the ennemye to departe oute of the citie. Dost thou aske me. What into exile? No, that is not my commaundemente: but if thou wilt do by my counsayl. I aduise the so. For what is it Catiline, that maie nowe delite the in this Citie? In the whiche there is no man, excepte the hopeles of this conspiracy, but the feareth the, no man but he hateth the. What blotte of domesticall filthynes is there wherwith thy lyfe is not defiled: what priuate dishonestie or shame is there, wherwith thou art not defamed? what luste of the eyes, what lewde acte of the handes? what ingratiuous dede of al the body, hath escaped the? what yonge man is there, to whom, beinge snared with thy corrupte entiementes, thou hast not mynistred eyther weapons to do mischief, or an harlotte for bodely luste? And now of late, whan with deathe of thy fyrste wyfe, madeste thy house voyde for thy newe maryage: dydest thou not also with an incredible offence augment that mischeuous dede? Whiche thyng I let passe, and am well contente it be not spoken of: to the ende that it shulde not be noted that so abominable a dede was eyther commytted within this citie, or els not punished. I ouer passe thyne unlucky chance of pouertie, the whiche thou shalte well fele and perceyue at the nexte session of parlyament.

**I** come nowe to those thynges, which do not apper-  
teyne to the priuate shame of thy vices, not to thy scar-  
re,

Steynge  
his fyrste  
wines son.

sitie, nede, and filthynesse, but vnto the highe estate of  
 the common weale, and vnto the lyues and welfare of  
 vs all. Can the lighte of this lyfe Catiline, Can brea-  
 thyng of ayre be pleasaunte vnto the seinge thou arte  
 certayne, that all these men do knowe, that the last day  
 of December, Lepidus and Tullius beinge consules, <sup>Then and there it</sup>  
 thou stoodest where the consuls be chosen with a darte <sup>was not le</sup>  
 in thy hande, and a company of men prepared to slee the <sup>fast to bere</sup>  
 consuls, and chiefest rulers of the citie: and nother any <sup>a weapon.</sup>  
 wisdom, or the drede that thou haddest, but the good  
 chance and fortune of the common weale withstode thy  
 myscheuous purpose and fury. But I lette passe those  
 thynges (for they be not vnknewen, nor it was not long  
 after, ere they were done) Howe ofte woldest thou haue  
 slayne me, elected consull: howe ofte beinge Consull:  
 Howe many thine assautys, so pretended, that it semed  
 they coulde not be auoyded, haue I eschewed with a lit-  
 tle deelynyng or bowynge of my body: Thou dost no-  
 thyng, thou preuayleste nothyng, thou goest about no  
 thyng, but that I knowe it in tyme conuenient: and yet  
 thine endeuoure and wyll to mischiefe celseth not. How  
 ofte hath this thy dagger ben wzonge out of thy han- <sup>Thy dag-</sup>  
 des. Howe ofte hath it fallen out of thy hande by some <sup>ger. i. thine</sup>  
 chaunce: yet couldest thou not be longe without it. How <sup>enterpryse.</sup>  
 thou haste halowed and bowed it I can not tell, thou  
 thinkest it necessary to be sticked in the consuls bodye.  
 But now what a lyfe ledest thou: For I will talke  
 with the, as I semed not to be moued with hatred as I  
 ought to be, but with mercy, wherof thou arte vntooz-  
 thy. Thou camest while ere in to the Senate, whiche  
 of this so great an assembly, of so many thy friends and  
 kinsmen dydde salute the: If this thyng neuer chaur-  
 red to

## Conspiracie

red to any man, as farre as men can remembre, doste  
 thou loke for rebukefull wordes, beinge condemned  
 with the moste greuous iudgemente of sylence. How is  
 it, that at thy commynge those seates be lefte voyde:  
 What meaneth it that all those that haue bene consuls,  
 whiche thou haste ofte appoynted to be slayne, as sone  
 as thou satest downe by theym, forsoke that syde, and  
 lefte the seates voyd and emptye: With what hert canst  
 thou suffre it: Surely if my seruantes shulde on suche  
 wyse drede me as al thy good citizens feare the, I wold  
 thynke it conuenient to forsake myne house. Dost thou  
 not deme it good for the to boide the citey: And if I sawe  
 my selfe for iniurie so greuously suspected and hated of  
 my citizens, I wold rather be out of theyr sight, than  
 they all with theyr hateful eyes, shulde se me. And se-  
 inge thy conscience causeth the to aknowledge, that for  
 thyne offences they all iustely beare the, the hatred, whi-  
 che nowe of a longe season hath ben to the due. Dooſte  
 thou doubt to eschewe the sighte and presence of them,  
 whose myndes and senses thou dost bere and trouble:  
 If thy parentes shulde be afrayde of the, and thy fren-  
 des hate the nor by no meane thou couldest please them:  
 as I thinke, thou woldest go some whither out of theyr  
 sighte. Now thy countrey, (which is as a mother to vs  
 al) hateth and dredeth the, and hath a longe season iud-  
 ged the, to imagine nothinge elles but her destrucion:  
 wylte thou neyther stande in drede of her auctority nor  
 folowe her iugement, nor feare her power: Which rea-  
 soneth with the Catiline, spekinge as it were on thy  
 wyfe. There hath these many yeres none yll dede benne  
 doone but by the, nor no haynous offence withoute the.  
 Thou alone for sleinge of many citizens veringe, and  
 spoylynge



spoylynge of oure frindes and alies, hast escaped freely  
 wythout punyshement. Thou not onlye dydst boldly ne-  
 glecte and despyse lawes and iudgementes, but also o-  
 uerthrowe and breake them. Those thynges aforesayd,  
 although they were not to be suffered, yet as I myghte,  
 I haue bozne them. But now it can not be suffered, that  
 I shulde be all in dreede of the alone, nor that Catiline  
 for euery cracke shoulde be feared, nor no counsayle ta-  
 ken agaynst me, that shoulde abhorre thy wycked dede.  
 Wherfore get the hence and deliuer me from this feare.  
 If it be true, that I be not opressed: if it be felse, that at  
 the laste I maye cease to be afraide.

**I**f thy countreie (as I haue sayde) shoulde reason  
 wyth thee those thynges, oughte thee not to opteyne, al-  
 though he the weere not able by strengthe to doo it: what  
 meante it that thou yeldest thy selfe to be in warde: To  
 what intente saidest, that to auoide suspicion thou wol-  
 dest dwel wyth M. Lepidus: And when he wold not re-  
 ceiue the, thou camste boldlye to me: and desiredst that  
 thou myghteste bee kepte at home in myne house. And  
 whan thou hadst of me also receyued this answer, that  
 I coude in no wyse be in safegard with the in one house  
 together, that am in greate peryll, because wee be bothe  
 within one cite: thou camst to M. Metellus the maire,  
 and beyng reiected of hym, thou wentest to thy compa-  
 nion, that moste worthye man M. Marcellus, tohome  
 thou thoughteste wolde moste diligently kepe the, most  
 sagely intreate for the: and moste boldelye gyue iudge-  
 mente for the. But howe farre out of pryson and bands  
 shulde he seme to be, the whiche alreedy iudgeth hymself  
 worthy to be in warde: Then seyng it is soo Catiline,  
 dontest thou (if thou canste not here remayne in quyet)

I

to go

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to go into some other countrey, and commyt this thy  
lyte escaped from many iuste and due punyshmentes, to  
flyght and wyldernesse: Thou sayeste: But it to the Se  
nate. Doest thou desire me: And if it please the Senate  
to decree that thou be banysched, sayeste thou that thou  
wylte obey: Nay, I wyl not referre it to them: for that  
is contrarye and ageinste my nature: but yet I wyl  
cause the to vnderstand, what they deme of the. Get the  
out of the cytie Catiline: deliuer the common weale frō  
feare: go into exile, if thou loke to hear this word spokē.  
What is the matter Catiline: Why dooeste thou tarye:  
what, doeste thou not marke the splence of those: They  
suffer, they holde theyr peace. Why doeste thou looke for  
the auctozitie of them, speake yuge, whan by keepinge of  
silence, thou knoweste their wyl and mynde: But if I  
shulde haue saide as muche to thys noble yonge manne  
M. Sertius, or to the mooste myghtie man M. Marcel  
lus: the senatours wolde (and that lawfully) haue laide  
violent handes vpon me the consull, yea beyng in thys  
temple. But as touching thee Catiline, whan they be in  
quiet, they approue, whan they suffer, they deterne: whan  
they holde their peace, they crye aloud. For they onely  
whose auctozite is so noble, or whose life most profitable,  
but also those ryght worshipfull knightes & honest gen  
tlemen of Rome, yea and other most valiaunt cityzens,  
whiche enuiron and stand about the Senate, whose oit  
and great resoꝛte hither, whose fauoure and affections,  
and whose woordes thou myghteste a lytle whyle erre  
haue seene, perceyued, and playnely herde: whose han  
des and weapons I can scaslly kepe from thee: the same  
can easely enduce, that they shall folowe after thee e  
uen to the gates, if thou wilt leaue those thynges, which  
a whyle

a whyle ago thou dydest imagin to destroye. But what do I saye: that anye thyng can breake thee of thy purpose: that thou wylte euer correcte thy selfe: that thou wolt minde anye flyght: that thou wolte thinke on anye exile: Oh that the goddes immortall wolde sende thee this mynde. And though I see howe greuous a tempest of hated, if not at this presente tyme, by reason of the freshe remembrance of thy detestable dedes, in time to come thine exile induced by myne oracion, shall stirre vp agaynste me: yet I care lytle for it, soo that thys bee thy priuate calamitie, and the common weale cleane deliuered from peryll. But it is not to be required, that thou shuldest be remoued from thy vices, that thou shuldest dreede the punishmentes of the lawes, that thou shuldest applie thy selfe to the common weale according as the tyme requirerh. For thou Catiline arte not the man, whom eyther shame can euer withdraue from fyl thy liuinge, or feare from peryll, or reason from furye & madness. Wherfore (as I haue oft saide) get thee away And if thou wylt cause me (as thou sayest) thyne enemye to be hated, get the straght waye into exile. I shall with great difficultie beare mens wordes, if thou wolte this do, I shall scarcely be able to susteine the burthen of this euyl wyll, if thou at the consuls commaundemente wylte go into exile. But if thou haddest rather doo that that maye be for mine honour and praise: trudge hence with thy cruel company of euyl doers, get thee to Manhus, styre vp naughtye citizens, seperate thy selfe from the good, make warre vpon thy countrey, reioyce in wycked robrie, that men maye see that thou arte not by me driuen hence, to dwell amonge straungers: but called to come to thine owne men. And yet wherto shuld



### Conspiracy.

I bydde the go:seinge I knowe, thou haste sente for the certayne, whiche armed tary thy commynge at Jozum Aurelium: seinge I knowe, what daye thou haste ap-  
poynted and promysed to be with Manlyus: and allso seinge that I knowe, thou hast sente thither befoze that syluer Eagle, the whiche I truste shal be the destruction and deathe of the and all thyne, to the whiche thou madest an oratorie of thy detestable dedes at home in thine house. How canst thou longe be without that Eagle, to the whiche thou were wonte to do sacrifice, when thou dydste intende anye manslaughter: from whose altare thou haste oftentymes retired thy wicked hande to the sleinge of some citezen: At the laste thou wilt gette the thither as thyne unbrydled luste and fury hath longe ago violently drawen the, for this to do is no grieve too the, but an incredible pleasure. Unto this madness nature hath bozne the, wil hath exercised the, and fortune hath kepte the. Thou dydst neuer desyre quietnesse, nor yet warre, excepte it were detestable. Thou hast gotten to the a company of suche as are yll and dishonest, men drowned in naughtynesse, vtterly set on mischief, beggerly hopelostes. Here, what gladnes, can the gladder: what ioye can the reioyce: what pleasure can the please, whan in this wyse so great a nombze thou shalt neither here nor se one good man. To this sorte and fascion of lyfe, those thy laboures, that are commonlye spoken of, haue ben exercised: To lye vpon the grounde, not onely to lay siege to some harlotte, but also to do some other mysdede. To watche, not onelye tyll men were a slepe, that thou myghtest haue theyr wyues at thy pleasure, but also to murther and spoyle. Thou hast, wherin thou mayst make a shewe of thy noble suffraunce, of hunger, colde,

colde, and extreme pouertie, with the whiche thou shalt shortly perceyue thy selfe confounded. I so moche prauayled, when I put the by the consullshyp, that thou beinge banyshed shulde rather attempte it, than beinge consull myghtest bere and trouble the common weale. And that thy detestable enterpryse shulde rather be called a robbery than a warre. Nowe moste honorable fathers, as I do detest and eschewe in maner a iust complainte of my countreye, so I beseeche you, marke diligently the thynges that I shall tel you, and prynt them inwardly in your myndes.

For if my countrey, which is moche derer to me than my lyfe, if al Italye, if the hole common welth shoulde saye thus to me: Marcus Tully, what doste thou wilt thou suffre hym to go his waye, whom thou hast found an open ennemye, whome thou seeste, must be the capytayn of the warre, whom thou perceiuest our ennemies loke for to be theyr chiefe leader, the auctour of this mischief the principall of the conspiracye, the repleyn of bande men and naughtye citizens: Dosthe it not seeme that thou rather byngest hym into the citee, than sende hym out of the citee, wilt thou not commaunde this felon to prison, to be violently handeled, and with most cruell turment to be put to deathe: What thyng letteth the. The custome of our forefathers: They beinge oute of auctority haue full ofte in this common weale, punished with deathe the naughty detestable citizens. Do the lawes, whyche were stablished to punish the citizens founde culpable, let thee. But theye in this citee whiche do ageynste the common weale enioye not the priuilege of the citizens. Dosthe thou not feare the enuyered of those that are to come: Surely thou shalt tgyue the

Ja m

Paul W

## Conspiracie

the peple of Rome ryght hygh thanks, the which haue auanced the, beyng a man of smal reputacion, wythoute commendacion of thine ancestours, from one honozable office to an other, euen to the most high rounge of al, and that in thy flourishing age: if thou for hatred, or for drede of any other peryl, doste not neglecte the sauegarde and wealth of thy citizens. But if there be any feare of hatred, the enue of seueritie and fortitude is not moze vehementlye to be dradd, then flouth and negligence in punysshing euill deedes. Whan I talpe shall be wasted with warre, whan the cities shall be vexed and troubled whan the buildynges shall be brente, dost thou not suppose, thou shalt be burned with the flame of enuye: To those most constant wordes of the common weale, and to those mennes myndes that agree to the same, I wyll in fewe wordes make answer. If I had demed it best, most honozable fathers, to put Catiline to deth, I wold not haue geuen this gladiatour one houre space to lyue, for if the most excellent and noble citizens, not only did not defile them selues by slepyng of Saturninus, bothe the Gracchus and Flaccus, and many other afore tyme but also gat thereby great worshyp: surely I ought not to drede enue here after, for puttinge to death this murderer of citizens. And all be it moost greuous enue is lyke to folowe, yet I haue alwaye bene of this mynde, that enue gotten bi fortitude, I haue reputed glozy, not enue. Not withstandinge there be here some Sena-  
tours, the whiche either see not those thinges that are imminent, or els they dissemble as though they dyd not see them. The which with their soft sentences, haue nourished Catilines hope, and not beleeuinge it, haue corroborate and made stronge the conspiracie, beginninge

Gladiato-  
res were  
men that  
foughte  
with swordes  
un-  
armed.

Fortitude  
valyaunte  
courage.  
fearinge no-  
thinge but  
shame, ma-  
fully bea-  
tyng and  
sufferynge  
prosperite  
& aduersite



to sprynge: whose authoritie manye folowynge not on-  
 lye such as are dishonest, but also ignoraunte and with-  
 out knowledge, wolde saye, if I shuld punishe this man  
 that I had not done nobly but cruelly. Now I perceiue  
 well, if this man be once come to Manlius armie, whi-  
 ther he intendeth to go, that there is no man so folysh;  
 which shall not see the conspiracie plainlye disclosed, no  
 man so leude and dishonest, whiche wyl not confesse the  
 same. This man alone beynge put to deathe, I perceiue  
 that this tribulacion of the common weale maye bee a  
 lytle whyle repressed, but not for euer extyncted. But  
 if he wolle arriue at Manlius army, and thither gather  
 to gether from al places the other his felowes of hyp-  
 pocrysy, this tyme myschiefe and pestilence of the com-  
 mon weale shuld not only be extyncted and cleane quen-  
 ched, but also the stalke and sede of all euils and incom-  
 modities. For we most prudent fathers, haue ben longe  
 in danger of this conspiracie & snares layde for vs: but  
 I can not tell you by what meanes, this soze of all dete-  
 stable dedes, olde furie, and brainesicke boldenesse, dyd  
 waite tyme, & brast out in the tyme of my consulshipp. If  
 that of so great a number of rebelles and robbers this  
 one man alone shuld haue bene put to deathe, we shulde  
 peraduenture for a lytle whyle seme to be releued from  
 care and drede: but the peryl shulde remaine styl, closed  
 within the vaines and bowels of the common weale.  
 As men oftentimes sycke of a greuous disease, and ber-  
 ed with a burnynge ague, if they drinke colde water,  
 seme at the firste to be wel refreshed, and yet afterwar-  
 des are moze greuously handeled: So this disease, whi-  
 che is in the common welthe, reliued with the punish-  
 ment of this man, shoulde moze vehementlye greue the  
 residu.

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residue of the citizens. wherfore let those that be naught  
departe, let them seperate them selves from the good, let  
them be gathered together into one place, finally let the  
walles (as I sayde before) sever them from the good  
men, let them leaue lying in a wayte aboute the consuls  
house let them leaue standynge about the pretors iuge-  
ment place, to besiege the palayce wyth swordes, to pre-  
pare mallettes and torches to set fyre on the cite, final-  
ly let it be written in euery one of theyr forehedes, what  
good wyll and mynde they bare to the common weale.

Mallettes  
were lyke  
arowes,  
whiche  
were caste  
burnynge.

I promyse you moste honorable fathers, that in vs the  
consuls shall be founde so greate diligence, in you suche  
auctoritie, suche power and strengthe in the knyghtes  
and gentylmen of Rome, and suche consent and agree-  
ment of all good men, that ye shall see by Catilines de-  
partynge euery thyng opened, playnely dysclosed, op-  
pressed, reuenged, withe all these thynges Catiline, the  
highe preservation of the common weale, withe thyne  
owne myschpyse and confusyon, and with the destructio  
of them, whiche haue benne confederate with the in all  
damnable dedes and murders, trudge hence to thy wic-  
ked and detestable warre. And thou o Jupiter, whome  
we name the stablysher of this cite & empire, with the  
same fauorable aspecte that this cite was builded by  
Romulus, dzyue and expulse this man and his felows  
from thyne aulters and other temples: from the edifi-  
ces of the cite and walles, from the lyfe and goodes of  
all the citizens: and punyshe with eternall peynes in  
this worlde and in an other, all the ennemyes to good  
men, and foes to theyr countrey, the robbers of Italye  
and suche as are confederate with them in a detestable  
felowship to do mischiefe.

Invocatio

Chan

**W**han the consull hadd ended his woordes, Catiline was so confounded and troubled with his oracion, that not onely his greate wytt and exercise in pleading, wher in alwaye he was very excellent, but also his vnshamefastnes, wherein he passed all other, sodaynelye fayled hym. Wyth so greate contenciou of mynde, wytte, voice sydes, and graue gesture of the bodie spake the consull. Hys woordes flashed in Catilines face as it wer the leam of a bryght burnynge torch, that the mooste vnshamefast man, and to speake mooste ready, durst not open his mouth, or speake one word for hym selfe: but sodeinelye dyd flee oute of the Senate, wyth certayne manassynge and cruell thretninges. Wherefore Cicero wytyng to Brutus, mooste soberlye praysinge that his singuler facultie of pleadinge, and rekenynge bp certaine of hys ryght noble oracions, amonge other thynges what confounded Catiline, hee for good cause glozieth: Of me (sayth he) the mooste hardy and bolde man Catiline was accused in the Senate, and helde his peace. But there be other that saye otherwyle: they wyte that Catiline answered the consull. And there remaineth and is commonlye in mennes handes a ryghte faire oracion, which is wrytten in Catilines name. The which oracion I do not so much beleue to be his, as of some greate and olde authour of suche feyned oracions. The example of whiche oracion I haue therfore set in this place, that when I had shewed myne, and other mens mindes, I mighte leaue it to be iudged of other hereafter. Then Catiline (as I saye) althoughe he were terriblye feared with the consuls oracion, yet because he was prompte in speeche, and readie to dissemble al thynges, toke courage, and in thys wyle answered to the consuls oracion.

R

Catilines



## Conspiracy.

Catlines answere to Cicero in the Senate. Cap. xix.

**I** besemeth all menne, whiche be in mooste hye office and authoritie, or that consulte of matters publike or private, principally to take hede, that they rashely incline not to any assercions, nor that they cast down vnder foote with furie or anger, the wytte, that shulde be at liberty: But with all diligence they must indevour them selues, that their myndes remaine vncorrupte that they egallie examen and trye everie mans reason, and that they leane to no parte, vntyl the matter bee clerely opened, and sufficiently debated. For it is a harde thyng, the mynde beinge disquieted, and the wytte troubled, to perswade any man to the truthe. Such is oftentimes the strength and power of an oracion. If you, most discrete fathers, had had this consideracion with you, when our counsell with so sharpe bytyng wordes, wrongefully spake of my maners, when he with his pernicious and insolent eloquence incensed, and kindled your mindes against me: I dare boldely saye, myne innocente lyfe shulde this daye cleane haue quailed, his proude crakinge wordes. But now I see, that ye by the consules suggestion, prepare sentence against me, and that ye can scasely suffer to here me, to gyue credence to his authoritie, mistrusting mine honestie. Wherefore I maye well feare lest the defence of myne helth be greatly hindered. For innocentes through the vniuste enuie or iniurie of a fewe, are often times troden vnder foote. The which thyng surely besemeth neither the constancie of noble men, nor the maners of the Romains, nor the dignitie and office of the Senatours. Therfore most honorable

rable fathers, I beseeche you for the goddes sakes im-  
 mortall, and for your humanitie, that in so greate and  
 waighthy matters ye lightely giue not iudgemente: re-  
 duce againe your mindes, mollified and ouercome with  
 Ciceros eloquence, to your olde integritie, and so restore  
 you them, that at length you maye vnderstand the wo-  
 des of Catiline a Romaine, descended of noble lynage.  
 If I worthy citizens, haue done anye offence againste  
 my countrey, I neither desire fauour nor mercie. Then  
 ryd me out of this lyfe, put this bodye to cruell death,  
 and teare these shamefull members in piieces, for myne  
 oracion tendeth not, that ye shulde haue mercie on Cat-  
 line. For why? sodenly to put to cruell death hym that  
 entendeth to destrope his countrey, is mooste hygh mer-  
 cye. But the clementy of this cite I desire mooste hono-  
 rable fathers, that in no maner wise ye forsake not inno-  
 cencie, lest while ye defende lybertie, throughe the ini-  
 quitie of a fewe, you shulde go aboute to destroy manye  
 gylty persons. I wyl shewe you and clerely open vnto  
 you, that the greuous and sharpe enmitie that oure  
 consull beareth me, is not for the sauegarde of the com-  
 man weale: nor for any desire that he hath to mainteine  
 liberetie, but to bere and trouble the common weal. For  
 howe many and howe immoderate discordes dyd fyrste  
 in tymes past kinde and prouoke hym againste me, nor  
 what strife & contencion hath not ben betwene vs sence.  
 I nede not to declare: for they are to you honorable fa-  
 thers sufficiently knowen. But I wyl rather tell you  
 those thinges, whiche he at the laste eleccion, when hee  
 was chosen consull, shamefully, yea and rashely blasted  
 out, howe he desired the consullshyp for nothings more,  
 than for the destruction of Catiline. These two mooste

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noble men C. Antonius, and C. Cesar are wytnesses of the same: by whose authoritie, that his thzetyng was at the same tyme reproved as vndiscreete. Good to nowe moste prudente fathers, gyue your hyghe dignities and offices to suche minded men, the whiche wolle moze dylygently pursue priuate ennimities, than the profite and sauegarde of all this common weale. Cicero desired not the consulshyp to succour the miserable, or to restrayne the power and myght of the euyll doers, to defende the cytie, to prouide for the common weale, but specialli that he myght quayle Catiline and banysh hym. Are these the dueties of a man called to the consulshyp? Deferre suche menne in geuyng them highe rounes, before the noble men, whose hole munde is to extincite the nobilitie. For that that is thzetyned me of thys man, shall retorne vnto you all. Beleue me moste prudente fathers, beleue me, the consent of beneuolence and loue is rare betwene myndes so vnlyke. He beyng a straunger of the towne Arpinate, a newe geast planted into thys cytie, thinketh vpon his naturall rage and hatered, the whiche his maners haue not only prepared ageynst newe and strange citizens, but also nature by olde custome. First at the begynninge of hys consulshyp, hys countrey was caste in his tethe, and sometyme his newe gentlemanshyp was objected againste hym: thynke ye that the manne moste vnpacient, could take soo great rebuke pacientely: At that tyme his wytte beyng kendled with a frowarde spirite, and as it were a viperous serpente, his fierce and cruel mynde, with an inflamed and benomed stomacke, was all to tossed. Thys man that nameth hym selfe the father of the countrey, that is wonte to saye that thys common weale was oznated wyth his noblenesse in ly-  
uing



ynge, he that by his maners maketh hym selfe not on-  
 ly egall to the kynredes of al the moste noble and excel-  
 lente men, but also to excel in vertue al oure forefathers  
 Whan he sawe his newe gentlemanshpype obiected a-  
 gainste hym, howe thynke you dyd hee take it: Hee than  
 gnashed his tethe together, and againste you all he was  
 stricken pryncely wyth a woodenes, and gan to whet hys  
 anger: the whiche ye maye not thynke woll asswage in  
 tyme to come, by opteyning of the consulshpype, seeynge  
 that he iudgeth, that not by your fauoures, but for hys  
 moste greatest vertues hee worthely is aduanced to so  
 hyghe a dignitie. And soo nowe he dothe execute those  
 hys former affections, nowe wyth those craftes he inten-  
 deth to trouble the cite: now with suche inuencions he  
 woll reuenge hym selfe, and bynge the nobilitie in su-  
 che case, that they shall neuer obiecte agaynste hym hys  
 newe gentlemanshpy. He shall do it moste honorable fa-  
 thers, he shall do it, onlesse your mooste prudente wyse-  
 domes at lengthe prouide both for the healthe of vs all  
 and for the common weale. For nowe oure cite by thys  
 ryngelader of myschiefe & artificer of damnable dedes  
 is so be spotted with a vengeable and pestilent blemyshe,  
 he so soweth abroade his detestable seede vpon our coun-  
 trey, that if it once take roote, and grow to any forward-  
 nesse, t hys publyke weale shall be cleane extincted, and  
 thys moste floureshyng empire shall be vtterly broughte  
 to naught. For there is nothyng more perillous vnto  
 cities, than whan the chiefe and principall citizens bee  
 at stryfe amonge them selfe. For Disorde is greatteste  
 foe to floureshyng common weales. Disorde alone dis-  
 parpleth and turneth vp sette downe, thynges stronge  
 and myghtye, Cruely disorde hath brought this busi-

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nes into our citie, it hath cast vs into this calamitie: the  
whiche if it be not prouided for in tyme, I see that thys  
mooste flozysing common weale is in greate daunger,  
I see the weapons in youre handes, the oone of you to  
withstande the other, this man banyshed, and that man  
murdered. Praise to god that innocent Catiline mighte be  
the ende of all tribulacions, like as he is the beginning:  
there is no peryll that shulde greue me to take in hande  
for the common weale, I coulde be contente to be pro-  
scribed, to be banyshed, to suffer death for my countrey.  
But euerie man is not at all tymes of oone selfe mynd.  
An other shall be moze vnpacient, the which had rather  
be auenged, then to suffer the iniuries of naughtye per-  
sons. Then the matter muste needes be tryed by cyuile  
warre, then shall our countrey stande in daunger to bee  
loste, and wyll shortlye fall into doubtfull chaunces,  
and sure destruction of the cytie: than shall he greatelye  
reioyce and gloze, that he hath opteined hys purpose:  
When he shall see this countrey glyster and shyne in  
bryghte armour, and this citie set on fyre gyue lyghte:  
Than shall hee preysse his innencions and driftes, and  
extoll his inuincible mynde, and thynke he hath suffi-  
cientlye reuenged hym selfe, and his fore fathers, for the  
contumelies and rebukes done to hym. For he is wonte  
sometyme to saye, that he is of the family and kindred of  
Cullius Hostilius kynge of the Volscians, speciall en-  
emie to the people of Rome: the whiche thyng is the  
onelye knownen occasion, why vniuersall the name of  
Romaines is hatefull vnto hym, and he shall alway ab-  
horre this common weale, by whose dominion the house  
and family of his ancestours is dynimed, and their em-  
pire cleane suboued and ouerthrowen, whiche thyng,  
howe

howe great cares it carieth into mennes mindes, iudge  
 ye your owne selues. This I may only esteeme of Cice-  
 ro, that as longe as that enuye of his fore fathers, and  
 those olde enmities of vnpatient mynde, shall turmoile  
 and bere his braine, he wolle neuer cesse from hys vio-  
 lence and madnes. So greate is his vnmoderate luste  
 and mynd to destroye this empiere. And euen now true-  
 ly, the hole worlde beyng in peace, so many kynges, peo-  
 ple, and straunge nations subdued, all menne bothe by  
 lande and see obeyinge vnto vs, and nobe that there is  
 no superiour enemye of the people of Rome, but doo ap-  
 proue our great puissance and noble actes. And therfore  
 he hath no hope to bringe this empiere to destruccion by  
 outward hostilitie. All thinges ate in sure quiete vnder  
 vs, all men wyllinglye obey vnto vs. But for as muche  
 as he greatly desireth to reuenge hym selfe and his an-  
 cestours, and that his harde and cruell mynde woll ne-  
 uer cesse from that opinion, he flyeth to those perturbaci-  
 ons, with the which priuate enmities fyrst with me, last  
 ly he intendeth to greue the hole common weale. And so  
 first he accuseth Catline his ennemie, and manye other  
 felowes with hym in his conspiracie, that they intend to  
 inuade the common weale, ouer ruine theyr countreye,  
 deface the citie, to burne houses, temples, aultares, to  
 rauy the virgins, to murther and flee the auncient men,  
 the peple, and the nobles, ne neuer stinte frome wrathe,  
 ne spare the swoorde, vntyll they haue vtterlye destroyed  
 this moste beautifull cytie, the soueraine princeesse ouer  
 all the worlde. But I were by the immortall goddes, I  
 wot not to what ende this bayne estimation of men wol  
 come, that any mortall man shoulde beleue, that there  
 were any so vtterlie an hopelost, or so ignozante of rea-  
 son.



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son, that dothe not pererue a certayne zeale and tender loue towarde his cuntreie planted in hym, the whyche alwaie thzoughe a certayne secrete and vehemente power of nature, is pobored in to mennes bzeastes. Than what Romaine mynde wolde desire to bzynge the common weale to so great calamitie: For what moste cruell ennemye of the Romaines, yea the verye Capitayne of Carthage Anniball, coulde inuente and imagine greater, oz the lyke hurtres to vs: Wolde I inuade the common weale, whiche haue for the common weale enterprised and susteyned so excedynge great perilles: Shuld I be so bolde, to deface the Senate and citie, whiche haue adozned my lynage with so many most large benefites: Shulde I burne the temples of Rome, the which shew forth the so manye grauen images and tables of mine ancestoures: Shuld I murder the noble men of bloud oz Senatoures, that am nowe in honoure and dignitie amonge them: Shuld I wearyng the honozable robe defile the citie with other mischeuous dedes, & which with all diligence haue withstand, that other shoulde not defile it: What hope: what mynde: what occasion shoulde dyue me to do suche a deede: Shoulde the luste and desire of dominion and rule, whereof a lytle whyle ere Cicero reasoned: haue I not quietly opteyned the dignite aboue all: haue not I as good hoope lefte me to excuse other dignities, as it is lawoful for any mortal man to require: for I am both of the bloud of noble Senatours, and haue opteyned the dignitie of a Senatour, and here after, I maye be consul oz Dictatour. The whiche dignities are suche and so greate, that not onlye in this moste noble citie, but also they far excel the empiers and principalities of all people, of all nacions, that are in all the world

wozld. What nedeth it then to seke that thinge in harde warre, whiche willingely in peace is prepared for me? But peradventure as Cicero sayde, enuie stirred me, great dette, pouertie, immoderate boldenesse to beare a rule. But this shuld be esteemed of a man that is wyful rashe, and bzainesicke, or of any other, the which in hope to wyne and gette goodes, maye vnwysely make soo great a sedition amonge the people of Rome: and not of a man of the noblest bloud borne, and in a cite aboundynge in welthe. For shuld he that is honestly furnished with riches, doubt that he shulde at anye tyme wante: for so muche lucre and wyning doth euen offer it selfe, and suche profite cometh of the common treasure: that if a man shulde a lytle decaye, and in no wyse obeye vnto honestie, it is incredible, howe easely he maye be laded wyth aboundance of riches. And to let passe other thinges, thou Cicero, arte an example vnto me, whyche in a maner the other daye entredst into this cite, bare a nedye of al thynges, after thou gottest thee once in office, thou gatheredst sodeinly together so great a heap of riches, that all the townes belonging to Rome as it seemed were scarcely sufficient for thy factoures. Wherefore thou doste but folyshely, to laye couetousenes, pouertie, and greate det vnto my charge. All whiche thynges I coulde by a moze sure waye appeale, then to disturbe the common weale, to take the vncerteine for certeyne, for a lytle comoditie to enterpryse excedynge greate perils. Neither I (as touchinge suche thynges as I am accused of) wolde for any priuate debate haue goone in hande with so horrible a dede. There is no man in this common weale, that I reken to be myne ennemie, onely Cicero is agreed with me, because I coulde not cloke.

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his bites, whyche he dyd secretlye : whose folyshe and trifling toyes if I sholde haue excheued and put from me, I had many wayes to reuenge my selfe, wythoute publike peryll. For I neded no refuge to the hurt of the common weale, seynge there was neither drede nor leopardy to withstande or let me, for if he were rydde oute of this lyfe, there shulde remaine no man that wold not onely reuenge hym, but also mourne at his funerall. But god forbydde, that I shulde dishoneste my selfe for hys sole hardynes. For it is no laude for noble men to be reuenged on abiecte persons, yet perchance if I wold haue desired it, it shuld not be imputed worthy citizens, but that I (if I had gone about it at that tyme) myghte haue had muche more oportunitie, than he shulde haue had. Surely if I fortified myne house wyth strength of men of armes, broughte in my companions, and made good watche, for I wyll not deny any of these thynges, I did it most prudent fathers not to do any man wrong but to resyste the violence of the consull. I dradde hys wytte, I knowe his eloquence, I was not ignoraunt of his malice, I vnderstode he had instructed this conspiracy. And so I was in feare, lest that by his eloquence ye shulde sodainly disdaine me in your mindes, and that ye (the daringers once declared) cleane ageynste my question, wolde grenouselfe punyshe me. For if I had bene once deliuered in to his handes, in vaine afterwarde shoulde I haue founde place for my defence. And so I haue with greate labour prolonged my lyfe vnto this daie. And in all this great trouble, by meanes of thy perswasion, I haue scaselye escaped, that I was not of all men condemned as gyltie. But nowe Cicero, when thou hadst lesse nede, otherwise thā thou hopedst, I am come  
into



into the Senate: and as muche as seemed to me sufficient, I haue opened a fewe of thy leaste fautes: the whyche by that tyme they be knowen, thou woldeste rather they shulde be forgotten, then that so great crimes shuld come to lyghte and be knowen. I was nothing afraied of thy mischeuous dedes, noz thine ozacion at that time, noz thy motions coniected willingly againste me, made me not afraied. For what feare in so great assemblie of Senatours, in so greate a companie of noble cityzens, could trouble any innocent mynd? Therfore I haue the daye, whiche I most speciallly desired, whiche assuredly thou dydst least loke for. I haue a Senate which can vnderstand myne innocencie, befoze whom thy damnable offences shall be opened. I haue therfore with good peryll prouided against my peryls, if at any tyme wyth strength of men of armes I defended thy fury, if at any season without drede I stode styffe in the comon weale, while by all meanes thou dydst perswade me to flee, I contrarie wyse mynded to tarpe. But o good lord where be wee? Who seeth not a mighty false accusation? what other thing dyd all thy ozacion meane, but that I shuld flee? But if (as thou saiest) all my dedes be well knowen, if mine imaginaciōs be more clerer then the lyght: why doest thou nowe perswade me to flee? Here I am, hauinge no power or defence of myne owne aboute me. The Senate is presente, whyche wyll prohibite and let the from harme. Shewe forth these mischeuous dedes: open plainely the sedicion, do punyshement. For it becometh the not to be mercifull in so great perils. Delay, and to be without helpe, maye be hurtful: If thou haue the principall of the conspiracie, if the capitaine of the ennimies be in thy handes, why doest thou tarpe? Why

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dost thou couet to caste hym oute: for it is more profitable, that the armie wante a capitaine: for so they shall be the more slacke to make warre. But I see (as it is wonte to chance) in the myddes of euils, thou for feare of punyshement, beginnest to waire colde, for thou seest the myschaunce that thou preparest either for me, or for the common weale, shall lyghte vppon thy selfe. Thys thyng now to thy greate daunger is farre otherwyle handled than thou thoughtest. Doubtest not now, that I woll obiecte againste the thy goodes: Dydest thou thinke, that I wolde come into the Senate: Therefore when I came, thou forthwith were sore afraied. Thinkest thou now: to make me afraied wyth thy thretninges: Knowest thou not howe free, and howe bolde the stomake of an innocente is: Wylte thou Cicero that I flee: Surelpe I woll not flee, but abyde and overcome thy proude bragges. I muste nedes reprove thy mischeuous deedes and inuencions. Let thy witnessses come in to this place, of whom thou saiest thou hast so great plentie, that nothyng of my deedes can be couered or hydde from thee. Whom bringest thou forth: Q. Curius: surely a man of a good opinion, and of an honest lyfe: or suche one as hath nobly wth his leud and naughty dedes dishonested this order, and therefore was abiected. Or wylte thou bringe forth Fulvia his mate in bodely lust, whiche was neuer priue to no murder, nor is not the nurce-chylde of aduoutrye and fornicacion, nor of none other vnlawfull copulacion: or elles she hath so lpyed, that as an example of abhominable vice, she her selfe alone canne excell all the craftes and deceites of hoores. These are the moste noble men, that suspect the trouble and vnquietnes of the citie, and that are broughte in as  
witnessses

witness against me. But I sweare by the goddess im-  
 mortal, that nowe thou Cicero, dost shewe by thy ma-  
 ners, that thou dost very shamefullie abuse thy saye:  
 For if thy mynde was to ryd me oute of the waye, thou  
 shuldest not haue sought witness of them that are open  
 conspiratoures. Thou oughtest to haue chosen them,  
 whose lyfe is more vnknown, and their robberies a  
 lytle more secrete. Many menne for that money, wolde  
 more profitably haue plyed to thyne ambition. For no  
 good citizen ought to be a frayed of their yll and malici-  
 ous wordes. They maye easely be reprovied, seyng that  
 their fortune, their fidelitie and deedes are sufficiente,  
 whiche if they wolde fauoure me, I wolde rather they  
 shulde be myne iniurious aduersaries, lest their familia-  
 ritie shulde bringe my lyfe lykewise in a contempt. And  
 so nowe moste honorable fathers, al the dedes and ima-  
 ginacions of the consull I haue opened plainely vnto  
 you: no boe also mine innocency maye appeare vnto you.  
 Ye see what thinge caused that he wolde destroye Cat-  
 iline, and disturbe the common weale. He is styrrid and  
 striueth with me for priuate enimities. For castinge in  
 the teths of his newe gentlemanshype, hee hateth all the  
 nobilitie after the maner of his fore fathers. For he ab-  
 horreth this countrey, and therefore he goeth aboute to  
 make sedicion, to sowe disorde, his vnpacient stomake  
 wyll neuer be in quiete, till he bringe vs to destruccion.  
 Firste he accuseth me, beyng borne of the noble bloude  
 of Rome, and a Senatour, to be a murderer: where as  
 the noble actes and dedes, hygh dominions, offices and  
 dygnities, and greate and large benefites doone to thys  
 common weale by myne auncestours, do mooste hono-  
 rably glyster and shyne. He obiecteth nedynes



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me, the whiche in this mooste plentifull citie coulde neuer bee an hynderaunce to theym that are in lobbe and meane offices. He obiecteth enmities againste me, the whiche seme vnto me, not to be sufficient, to disturbe the common weale. Ye see what witness he bringeth forth the whiche are suche, that they exceede the wittes of all mischeuous captiues. Whiche attemptates, after hee sawe came not to passe, as he hoped they wold, nor hath no greate truste in the senate, he is forthwith ouerthrowen with feare. He commaundeth me to flee, whan if I had ben faultie, to reuenge soo heynous an offence, the greatest punishment that is, coulde not be sufficiente. Than if you most honorable fathers see myne innocencye, if ye perceiue his fierce cruell mynde, if ye ponder the perylls of the common weale, than at the laste looke vp, take pitie, and saue from ruine the empire of Rome. Ye haue euen amonge you a slipper serpente, ye haue in this order included, the calamitie of the common weale whiche is ryghte watchefull, to brynge to confusion the peple of Rome. You haue aduanced hym to most hyghe honour. Beware, lest at length that parte of pestilence, by to muche libertie, infecte all the bodye, and as a contagious disease growe vp amonge you. Go to quickelie, auoyde this stinkynge pompe of vengeaunce and myschiefe, depose this man frome his consulshyp, lest that his foule shamefull dedes defyle this mooste hyghe and honorable dignitie: caste him out of this common weale lest that here after he shulde be seene within the walles of this our mooste noble citie, by hym broughte to greate ruyne and decaye. If the monumentes of this citie bee derely beloued vnto you, if the syghte of your chyldren be pleasaunt vnto you, if it delite you to haue chaste virgins

ging, if the temples, if the power, priestehode, compaignye, houses, ryches, seruauntes, clyentes, all goodes of fortune, and the commodities of all our countreie, bee acceptable vnto you: Nowe, nowe rote out of this common weale this seede of all euyls, rydde him oute of the citizens syghte, the whiche thynketh vtterly to destroye you and all your goodes, whiche hath determined with priuite hatred and discorde, to disturbe the honorable estate of the Romaine empire. Succour and help in this peryll. Resiste this calamitie: then all suspicion shall cease, then this gyle shall incontinently be remoued fro the handes of men of warre. In this one man resteth al their hoope. For who coulde haue moued or styred by the myndes of a fewe vngracious persons against this moste greateste empire, the chiefe and soueraigne of all the worlde, but he? What citizen in this common weale coulde haue imagined so cruell a myschiefe? This, this newe gentleman Cicero of Arpinas, of the kinrede of Cullians, prauely strueth snares for our destruction. He accuseth Catiline of conspiracie wherby he might haue the better oportunitie for his purpose. He bringeth manye of vs to examinacion, that he, by gatherynge together of strength of men by the meane of vs, might thereby the easier inuade the common weale. O mooste prouidente fathers, do you not se your owne perils? Hold by the miserable common weale, staggerynge and redy to fall: helpe your contrey: se mercifullye to the sauegarde of your parentes, and of vs al, and ryd me a noble man borne, and the people of Rome out of the cruell handes of the malicious consull. And restore me humbly beseechynge and instantynge you to my former nobilitie, fauour and beneuolence of all the citizens.

Catiline

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**C**atiline in great wrath, departeth out of the court. exhorteth his companions to speake to their enterpryse, he boydeth the citie, and prepareth warre. Cap. xx.



Neathe Catiline hadde ended his wordes, but that many senatours beganne to mur-  
mure, and to call hym manqueller and en-  
neyme. Than Catiline full of furre, sayde:  
For as muche as I am beset aboute wyth  
enemies, and am ouerthrowen hedlynge  
I wyll not quenche the burnynge of myne anger wyth  
water, but with your ruine. After that, all pale and cha-  
fed, he sodeinly rushed out of the courte, and gatte hym  
home, with many greate and cruell manassinges, there  
myndynge manye thynges, he determined to take hys  
iourney to Manlyus armie: fearinge, if he shulde tarpe  
any longer, lest the people stomaked against hym wyth  
the consuls oracion, shulde runne vpon hym. Therefore  
a ssemblynge to gether Lentulus, Cethegus, and other  
the chiefe of the conspiracie, he shewed to them his coun-  
sel, exhortyng them to be alwaye redy, and of good cou-  
rage, and not to be afraied for anye labour and peryll,  
and that they shuld diligentlie execute the thynges, that  
they had apoynted the other nyght: and that they shulde  
allure as many as they could to ioyne with them in that  
warre. In the meane whyle he warned them that they  
shulde sprede a rumour aboute the cite, that he an inno-  
cent was banysht to Massula: that by reason thereof  
Cicero might runne in hatred, and that therby he might  
vnwares inuade the cite. When he had saide these, and  
other lyke thinges, about midnyght with a fewe, or (as  
some other saye) with .iij. C. men of armes, he departed  
out of the cite: nor he went not by the waye called Fla-

mina



minia (as some falselye write) but by the waye aurelia:  
The morowe after that Catiline was fled out of the ci-  
tie, M. Cicero made an oracion to the people: which by-  
cause it is wrytten among Ciceros oracions, I ouerpass  
here what then was saide of the consull to them.

Catiline sente diuers letters into the citie agaynst Cicero, in which he  
seynd hym selfe to be exiled. Cap. xxi.

**B**ut Catiline as he was in his iournei, wrote  
letters to many that had ben consulles, and  
sente theym to all suche as were chiefe and  
principall: to whome he sayde that he was  
circumuented with false accusacions, and  
seperate frome the Senate: and bicause hee coulde not  
resiste the consull, he gaue place for the tyme, and as a  
banished man wente vnto Massilia, not that he knewe  
hym selfe culpable in anye offence, but to the ende the  
common weale shulde be in quiete, and that the consull,  
couetyng to destroy the nobilitie, shuld not by sepyninge  
of Catilines conspiracie, byng to destruction manye  
good and innocente men: And that he wolde rather for-  
sake his countrey, than that for his sake anye dissencion  
of cruyle warre shulde aryse. This thyng caused Cice-  
ro to be greatly hated: for there were many that sayde,  
that Catiline was not astonied and afraied for the cons-  
uls diligence, nor put frome his hope or enterpryse, but  
by the consuls violence and threthynge, he vncondem-  
ned and an innocente was banished, nor they disproued  
not hym, but saide that Cicero was to tymorous, and  
a consull not diligent, but a tyranne moste cruell. But  
whan Catiline, with the ornamentes of a consull, and  
lyke a soueraine Captaine was come into the countrey

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of feluls, and had receyued the armye of Manlius, he determined not to make warre, befoze he had augmented the armye, and tyl he had a fewe dayes exercised and accustomed his souldiours, after the discipline of the ancient Romaines, to indure labour and warfare. Then Catiline watchinge, laborynge, settynge his menne in a ray, callynge his souldiours by name, monythinge, exhortynge, dayly moze and moze he reduced and brought them againe to the knowledge and discipline of warfare. While Catiline in marciall feates instructed his army, M. Catulus, a man in mozte highe estimacion and auctoritie, which sometyme was Catilines familiar friend, redde the letters in the Senate, whiche he sayde Catiline sente to hym, the tenoure of whyche letters hereafter foloweth.

**C.** Catiline to M. Catulus gretynge. Thy greate fidelitie approued in deede, to me in peryll ryghte muche beneficiall, geueth a sure truste to my commendacion. Wherfoze I purpose not in newe counceyl to prepare defence, noz for any conscience of offence to make satisfaction: the which not withstandinge in very deede ye shall knowe to be true. Yet for as much as I prouoked wyth rebukes and iniuries, and depriued of the fruite of my labour and diligence, opteyned not the state of dignitie, as my custome is, toke vpon me to defende the cause of suche as are miserable, not that I want or haue not sufficient possessions to paye myne owne dettes, seying that the liberalitie of my wyfe Porcistilla, with her owne and her daughters goodes, hath payed other mens dettes, but bycause I sawe men vnworthye, auanced to honour: and my selfe, throughe false suspicion, alienated and put from honour. And for this cause I haue, for the  
case.

case that I am in, gotten metely good hope to conserue  
 suche dignitie, as hereafter shal chaunce me. As I wold  
 haue wrytten mo thinges, it was shewed mee, violence  
 was prepared against me. Nowe I commende and de-  
 liuer Poristilla to your fidelitie, prayinge you for the  
 loue that ye beare to your childe, defende her from in-  
 iuries. Fare well.

¶ Many in the cite blamed the softnes of Cicero, that he suffered  
 their enemye to go his waye. Cap. x. ii.



¶ When it was knowen at Rome, by  
 manye mennes letters, and often messa-  
 ges, that Catiline was admitted cappy-  
 taine ouer the armye, and that hee inten-  
 ded too make warre vpon his countrey:  
 there were verye manye that greatelye bla-  
 med the consull, bycause he had not taken soo greuous  
 an enemye to the comon weale, and that he had let scape  
 the principall and chiefe of the conspiracie. For at that  
 tyme, the people reasoned and communed amonge them  
 selves, on this maner: Catiline long er this tyme, ought  
 to haue ben put to deathe by the consulles commaunde-  
 ment, and with mooste cruell and sharpe tourmentes to  
 haue ben punished. This mischief, which he hath craftly  
 imagined againste vs, oughte to haue ben layde vppon  
 his owne necke. For if the consull had put hym to death,  
 (as he hath deserved) we had ben now without warre,  
 the straytes of Hetruria had not ben fylled with the ten-  
 tes of our enemies, the common welthe had ben now  
 in quiete and rest. It was no nede at that tyme to haue  
 bled mercy, it had ben a very mercifull dede, most sharp-  
 ly to haue punyshed oure enemye, and by the deathe of



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one wicked personne, to haue preserued the whole common wealth. Some other vsinge the aunciente examples shewed, howe that Sp. Elius desiringe to reigne alone was slayne of P. Seruilius Mala. And likewise Tiberius Gracchus of P. Scipio, and also howe that C. Marius, slew L. Saturnius protectour of the commonaltie, and C. Seruilius Glaucia the mayre, for certaine suspicions of sedition: But Cicero hath commaunded him (whom he knewe to be an enemy most greuous whom also he perceiued to be looked for of their enemies to be their capitaine and gouernour) to go vnto his armye, and so to make warre agaynst his countreye.

¶ The miserable estate of them that gouerned suche common welthes, in the which he that is diligēte, is called wayward and hard to please; He that is negligent, dishoneste: where he that is constante and iuste, is called cruell and vngentle: and he that is mercifull, fearfull, and dissolute: wherin is geuen no pardon to them that do amysse, and small praise to them that do well. Or euer it was spoken that L. Catiline was gone in exile, it was sayde, that he was not by Cicero spoyled of his armours of boldenes, that he was not circumuented and weakened by the diligēte labour and counsell of Cicero and that he had altered his intente, not bycause that he dyd greatly feare: but that he vtcondemned and an innocent was exiled only by the wordes and power of the consull. He was not then called unhappy, but fearefull: Contrary wyse, the consull not diligēte, but cruel. But seyng there were menne, that spake these thinges, what wolde they haue saide if Catiline had ben put to death? Nowe for as muche as Catiline lyueth, and is unpunished, they call Cicero a manne of no greate counsell, but ignorant,

ignozaunte, fearefull, and dissolute. Certes there is no-  
thinge moze ignozant and brutish, than the bulgare peo-  
ple, whiche without any difference oz wisedome iudgeth  
and onelye pondzeth the chaunce of the thyng, and to  
whom any thyng well happeneth, hym they saye to be  
very prouident and circumspecte, and to whome other-  
wyle, he to perceyue and knowe nothinge. But let vs  
omytte these thynges.

**C**atiline and Manlius be proclaymed enemies, vnto whom  
shed very many hopelesse. Cap. xxiiij.

**B**UT when it was surelye knowen at Rome, that  
Catiline was admitted capitayne ouer the armye,  
and intended to make warre vpon his countrey, there  
was an acte of parliament made, in the whiche Catiline  
and Manlius were iudged to be bitter enemies to the  
common welthe. And to all other there was a daye ap-  
pointed (sauynge to those that were alredey condemned)  
that it shuld be lawfull for them to departe from the ar-  
my unpunished. And if any man after that tyme shulde  
go vnto Catiline, the senate to take hym as a traytoure  
against the common weale, and agaynst all mennes  
safegarde and profite. The senate also decreed, that the  
consuls shulde muster, and that C. Antonius with suche  
ayde as he myght gather, shulde pursue Catiline bothe  
by lande and sea, and Cicero to defende the citee from  
all deceites and mischaunces. Neuerthelesse the mindes  
of desperate persons were nothyng restrained by these  
sharpe decrees. For there was none out of soo greate a  
company of conspiratours that departed from Catiline  
excepte it were eyther to spy, oz to doo some myschiese:  
but contrary wyle there were many that drew to hym,

M. iij.

both

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bothe out of the countrey, and out of the citie. But of all those that drew to hym, he refused bonde seruantes, of who an innumerable multitude fled to hym, he esteemed it a thynge vnseemely, that runnagates shulde haue to do in citizens matters: and thynkinge this also, whiche indeede shoulde haue come to passe, (if his companions at Rome had performed their enterpryse) that huge routes of snaphances and hope lostes, from all parties of Italy wolde resorte to hym. For not onlye they that were confederate in the conspiracie, coueted that Catiline shulde victoriously ouercome, but also whosoever were greatly indetted, who soo euer had solde awaye their landes, who so euer were in tyme paste condemned or atteinted: Many also by troublinge of the common weale, looked to be aduanced to honours and moost hyghe rommes, many desired warre by reason that of such ruffling and dissencions, they opteyned power. Farthermore in a greate citie are alwayes many naughty yll doers, hope lostes, malaperte, troublous, sedicious and nedye fellows, which with a becke are redy to disturbe the quiet and rest of a citie. But most specially the delycate youth, and lytle bearded yonge men, or Catilines flocke wythout beardes, whiche smellynge all of muske, their heares featelpe comed, wearinge beyles and not gobones, allowed Catilines counsayles. And of these, manye got them to Catilines armie. And of that number was one Fuluius, the sonne of Aulus a Snatour, the whyche if he coude haue exchewed Catilines company and amitie, he had nothyng gone oute of kynde from his forefathers. He was excellently lerned in greke and latine: he had a ioly quicke wytte, he was a goodly yonge manne and a towarde. But he with Catilines company and amitie



mitie made bnylke to hym selfe, in a folyshe brayde, fled  
vnto Catilines campe : Whom his harde father retur-  
nyng hym backe againe frome hys iourney, whanne  
he hadde with spytefull rebukes rated, hee afterwarde  
commaunded hym to be slayne . Also there was an opi-  
nion that P. Clodius, the sonne of Appius, departed  
out of the citie, to thentente to go to Catiline . After that  
chaunging his purpose, he returned againe to the citie,  
and so Cicero objecteth againste hym in manye places,  
that he was companiou of the conspiracie, the whiche  
crimine although it were objected of an enemye, yet I be-  
leue it to be true, for the lyfe and maners of Clodius ap-  
proue that he boldly enterprised all thinges. Also there  
were some that saide that C. Antonius the consull was  
one that conspired with Catiline, whoose opinion was  
approued by this one argumente, that Antonius neuer  
endeuoured hym selfe to auoide that suspicion of fami-  
liaritie wyth Catiline, which men than had of hym, nei-  
ther by denyng, noz yet by dissimulacion. Noz this fu-  
rious infection, dyd not onely inuade the citie, but in a  
maner all Italy, and was now spread priuely throughe  
many prouinces . And excepte the conspiracie had bene  
discouered in the citie, surely Catiline in short tyme had  
gathered an infinite armye, and the commocions in all  
places had ben excedyng greate . In Apulia, in Bru-  
tius, in Delignis, in Capua, in the countrey of Disce,  
and specially amonge the Disaurians, and Ca-  
mercians, in Tuschayue, in Fraunce, the  
hither, and further, the bandes of men  
of armes comed abrod some pri-  
uely, and some openly,

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Ambassadors are sente from the senate, into diuers provinces of  
Italy, to withstande the rebellion. Cap. xxiij.

**B**UT the huge motion of this cursed conspiracie repyled by by Marcellus the father and the sonne, disclosed by L. Vinctus, was appeased and brought downe by Vibulus in pelignis and by Cicero in Brutus, and by them they were bothe punished. But in the further Fraunce, C. Murena the legate, brother vnto Murena that was appointed to bee consull: In the countrepe of Wyse, and the one parte of Fraunce, the noble maire M. Metellus, dyd withstand and let the myscheuous fury and ententes of the conspiratours. And many of these dyd Metellus cast in priso. Albeit (through the faulte of the writers as I suppose) it is falsely red in Saluste, that this C. Murena shulde be the ruler of the hyther Fraunce. For Cicero doth asseirme, that he was at that tyme in the further Fraunce, with all his power. And by the same authour wee haue shewed befoze, that M. Metellus Celer, was sente from the senate into the countrey of Wyse & a part of Fraunce. Furthermore Cicero the consul comaunded, that all the inhabitantes and dwellers there aboute, shulde strongly fortifie their townes with garisons of men of armes, and to defende their borders and cities from the inuasion of Catiline. Also he sente P. Sestius the treasurer with an army to Capua, bycause he herde sape that the rebels wente about to take it. Than whan he was come to Capua, he banished from thence C. Meulanus, a man geuen to ryot, and C. Marcellus endeuoryng him selfe to wyinne the cite by force, and to reple by a seruile warre,

warre, and entendinge to do many other leude deedes, and deliuered that citie frome mooste greuousse peryll. Wherfoze the chiefe rulers of Capua, for that the welth of their citie was preserued, they in honour of M. Tullius, sette bp a golden image, and called hym their patrone, and to P. Sestius they openly gaue gret thakes.

**T**he preparation of the rebelles in the citie, and their councelles wth the ambassadours of Dolphinois. Cap. xi. v.



**A**T THE same season the capitaines left by Catiline in the citie, entised vnto warre the citizengs, the straungers, the noble men, the meane, and men of lowe degre, of what sort so euer they were, which they sawe desyrus of new alteracions, that were mete for warre: further they prepared mallettes to set fire on the citie, and sente secretlye vnto Catiline bothe armour and money.

**T**here were than at Rome ambassatours of Fraunce sente from a citie somwhat in trouble, desirynge of the senat to deliuer their towne which was greatly indetted. Wherfoze Lætulus supposed lightly to allure those men to ayde them in their warres, for as much as the french men are of nature inclined to warre, and alwaye intetue to newe businesse, and hated the present estate of the people of Rome. In this confederacie were many commodities. First, Fraunce had great plentie of horsemens, of whome the conspiratoures sawe them selves to haue greate neede. Seconde, bycause the people of Dolpiny were next adioynynge to Italye, and by the reason that Fraunce shuld be in an vprore & rustelinge, they thought no man could resiste the conspiracy. And so bycause P. Umbrenus was acquainted with the frenchemen, they



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gaue hym charge, that he shulde require the saide ambassadours, to take their partes, and shewed hym by what reason it myght be done. Umbzenus sente for the ambassadours, and diligently accompyshed the matter.

**C**iceros watchefull diligence, and hys monitions to the frenche ambassadours, whych uttered the secretes of the conspiracy. Cap. xxi.

**B**UT M. Cicero beyng alway watcheful and prouident, to see and perceiue, what the conspiratours wente aboute and intended, vsed the helpe and counsaile of L. Torquatus, P. Lentulus Spinter, Q. Catulus, M. Lucullus, P. Seruilius, M. Cato, Q. Sanga, and of many other moste noble and woorthy men. They hyghly fauor yng the common weale, inquired and serched out al thyng, and what so euer came to their knowledge, they forthwith made relation therof to the consull. Than as fortune woulde, the ambassadours communed of these matters wyth Q. fabius Sanga, a righte noble manne, whyche was the frenche mens patronie. He beyng a a counsel wyth Cicero in al thinges, spedely shewed the matter to the consull. Than the consull thynkinge that he hadde nowe good occasion, openlye to conuince the conspiratours, which thing he alway desyred, commaunded the ambassadours to come secretelye vnto hym: and admonysed them that they shulde not bee ennemyes to the people of Rome withoute a cause: Nor that they shulde ioyne their welthy state, with the wretched condicion of Catiline, Lentulus, and other miserable personnes: nor that it behoued them to enteprise thynges vncertayne for certayne, or for a small commoditee to aduenture vpon exceeding great perylles. All warre

warre is easelye begonne , but it is not in his power to make an ende, that beganne it. He sayde Catiline by my counsailes, by my great labour and trauaile, and wyth my strength of men of armes is so be set about on al sides febled, y my felowe Antonius with an army may easely subdue hym. Within the citie al thinges are abundantly foreseen and prouided for , that no man can once sturre against the common weale. And that if it were knownen that they had done, begon , or intended to do any thyng against the common weale , the Senate and people of Rome wyll as they are accostumed, moſte ſharpe reuenge it: Therfore he aduised them to take good hede to them selues and their citie . But in case they wolde be ruled and do as he wolde aduise them, they ſhulde stand in poſſibilitie to obteyne of the people of Rome all thynges what ſoo euer they wolde require . The ambassadours full gently answered to thoſe thynges and sayde: It is true, they were required by Lætulus to be felowes with them in warre , but they weere not in ſo miſerable ſtate, nor of ſoo wyllfull a mynde , that they wolde ſodeinly ſpyl and caſt away the amitie that they had wyth the people of Roome , opteined wyth ſo greate labour and buſineſſe , and that their deſire was to accompliſhe all thinges what ſoo euer he wolde commaunde them. Than the conſull gaue them in charge, that they ſhulde make as though they vehementely fauoured the conſpiracie , and labour to get letters of their hande wytyng, and ſealed with eche of the conſpiratours ſeales: and diligently to ſerche oute all their intentes and purpoſes. The ambassadours promiſynge to do their endeuoire , ſlepte not the matter , by Gabinius ( for to hym Umbzenus firſte broughte the frenche men ) they ſpake

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with Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius: and required of them an othe, their letters and seales, to the entente they myghte brynge home to their nacion some sure knowledge of the matter. For otherwysse they sayde their citizens coulde not be perswaded to take in hande so greate an enterpryse. Than they suspectynge nothyng, sente vnto the rulers and people of Delphinois, an othe & their letters. (Surely there is nothinge more perilous, than to put in wrytinge that thyng that a man wolde haue kepte secrete.) Farther they gaue them in commaundement, that they as shortly as coulde be, shulde come into Italye, with a stronge bende of horsemenne, for they saide they had souldiours inoughe. But Cassius, that he myght the more easely stere the barbarous men to warre, knowing that outward nations are muche moued with nobilitie, named certayne of the nobles, and saide, they hadde agreed and were consented wyth them.

**T**he bayne braggyng of Lentulus, and cruel counsell of the conspiratours in the cite. Cap. xxvii.



**A**LSO Lentulus, to encozage the french men said, that by the booke of Sibilla, and the diuinaours answers the kingdom of the Romaines shulde be geuen to the Cornelians: Cinna and Silla haue had alreedy the regal power, and he him selfe was the third Cornelius, to whom the hyghe imperiall power shulde fal. He sayd also, that the same was the predestinate yere, in whyche the common weale shulde peryshe and finallye decaye. For it was. xx. yere sythe the Capitoll was burned, and the tenth yere sens the virgins Vestales absolucio. The whych



whiche yere (as the diuinours haue often tymes geuen answer) shulde be to the people of Roome vnluckye and vnforsunate. After all thys the conspiratours descriued vnto the frenchemen, the maner and fashien of all the hole warre. But those thynges whiche they appointed to be done at Rome, was afterward found to be deuised and distributed amonge the conspiratours: that whan L. Sergius Catiline shulde come wyth an armye in to the fielde Jესulan, L. Bestia protectour of the commonaltie, shulde make an oracion, to byynge Cicero in hatred, bycause that by his prouocacion Catiline had repesed by a ciuyle warre. And by that token, the nexte night folowynge, L. Cassius, and P. Statilius shulde set fyre on. xij. partes of the citie. Which was done for this consideration, that by that vproze and ruffelyng, they might moze easely murder the citizens. Notwithstanding ther is a certeine authoz that saith that they had chosen oute an hundred men, which shulde set fire on an hundred places of the citie: and certeine were appointed to defende and stoppe the wayes to the cundites, and to slep al such as endeuored them selues to quenche the fire. Also they chose oute a certeine, whiche shulde besiege Pompeys house, and take his chyldren a lyue, and kepe them as it were in hostage, therby to wyinne and reteine the friendshippe of Gn. Pompeius, which at that season ledde a myghty great hoste in Asia: and it was nowre reported for a surety, that he had accomplyshed many very great warres, and wold shortly retorne into Italie. Further it was appointed that C. Cethegus shoulde assaile Ciceros house with the sword and fire, and had the charge to slep hym: and he beyng slaine, he had other two, that had ben consules, and. iij. that had ben pretors, to slep.

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The other citizens shulde be numbred by the bande of yongemen, led by Gabinius. And amonge theym also was lymitted who shuld take and defende the Capitoll, who the market place, who the portes, and who the gates of the cite. Mozeouer they ordeyned (it that is wont to chaunce in the conqueste of a citye of ennemies) to spoyle the citye, to burne the temples, to raupe the honeste wyues, noble mens children, virgins, and nunnes, and fyll all places with lamentacion, deade bodie, and bloude. And whan the citye were all set on fyre, robz, and slaughter, Catiline shuld be redy with his armye to take suche as wolde fle, and ioynen hym selfe wyth these capitaines that were in the citye. Here I marueyle, seeynge Cicero saieth these thynges were thus appointed, wherfore Salust shuld declare them to be other wise deuised amonge the conspiratours. For hee writeth that Gabinius tooke vppon hym the businesse of burnynge, and that Cassius shulde go into fraunce: whan contrarye wyse Gabinius was appoynted capitaine of the slaughter, and Cassius of burnynge. But yet in this thing, I suppose more credence shuld be geue to Cicero, which disclosed the conspiracie, than to Saluste. But I woll retorne agayne to theyr communication.

The nyght appointed to crueltye, the fury and wrath of  
Cethegus, the deceipt of Lentulus. Cap. x. biii.



**T**H A said the frenchemen: All these thynges Lentulus are right well and politikely appointed; but whan shall that wysshed nyghte bee? Whan shall oure Bestia make that desired oracion? It shall be but a short tyme (said Lentulus) these thynges must be done at the feast:

feaste of Saturne. Then sayde Cethegus: What speke  
 ye Lentulus of the feast of Saturne: What short tyme  
 meane ye: ye shuld not tarye one houre: very great per-  
 turbacions are often tymes done in a littell momente.  
 For seying speede is nedeful in euery busines, the specially  
 in warre, namely amonge citizens. For slowpng and de-  
 laye may surely do great hurt, but no profite. Wherfore  
 take hede Lentulus, lest thys thy shorte and lytell tyme  
 be ouer much, yea and more then ouer long. Then when  
 all the other answered, it behoued those thynges to bee  
 done at the feaste of Saturnus, Cethegus was soo in-  
 flamed, and so wrothefullye ranne here and there, that  
 without any doubt he seemed to waxe rauinge mad: he  
 smote hym selfe on the forehead, he coulde reste in noo  
 place, oftentimes he layde hande on hys sworde: Why  
 do I tary sayd he: his countenaunce was full of fure,  
 his wordes arrogant and proude, he fomed at the mou-  
 the, his eyes glowed, his crueltie appeared in his looke.  
 Than sayd Cassius: Why doste thou Cethegus trouble  
 oure ioyes: Why doste thou (sayd he) delaye oure ioyes:  
 And he sware an othe, that if a fewe wolde folowe hym,  
 the other makynge delaye, he hym selfe wolde assaute the  
 palayce. After these wordes, they kepte a lytell whyle  
 sylence. Than spake Lentulus to the frenchmen on this  
 wyse: What thynke you oure Cethegus woll doo that  
 nyghte, whan euen now he thynketh to come to hande  
 strokes: Thinke you that the consult, though he haue  
 an army about hym, can withstand this most valiaunte  
 man: Pee saye trothe quod they: for wee neuer sawe a  
 bolder man. After this Lentulus sayde, it pleased hym,  
 that the frenchemennine, in the same iourney befoze they  
 wente home in to their countreye, shoulde go vnto Ca-  
 tilyne



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tiline, that they myght confirme the leage and bonde of friendeshyppe with hym. And he appointed one Tytus Vulturcius to accompany and conduite them vnto Catiline. To this Vulturcius he gaue letters to cary to Catiline, without any name subscribed: but after this manner. Who I am, ye shall knowe of hym that I haue sent to you. Loke that ye playe the man: and thinke in what state ye be: and se what is now behoueful for you. Take hede that ye refuse no mans helpe, be he neuer so pooze. Fare well. Furthermoze he sente hym worde by mouth, that seynge he was iudged of the Senate as an enemy, he shulde vse the ayde and helpe of bonde men, and that he shulde set forward, and without delaye draw toward the citie. For in the city al things were diligently prepared & redy accordinge to his appointement. Lastly when they had determind, that the frenche ambassadours shuld the .iij. nonas decembzis departe oute of the citie, they sente them away with Vulturcius in their compaignye. About the same tyme M. Crassus came by nyghte to Ciceros house with letters of L. Catiline, in the whiche Catiline exhorted hym, as one priue to the conspiracie, to strength and ayde them. Cicero thanked hym, and greatly praised the good wyll and loue that he bare to hys countrey. But for what intente Crassus dyd it, whether because he wolde not be reputed a felow of the conspiracy, if by chaunce it happed to be disclosed, or else that he ment wel and truely, we do not certainly knowe. Neuerthelesse Cicero in a certeine oracion whiche after Crassus death came to lyghte, writeth that M. Crassus was companion of the conspiracie. But Cethegus alway blamed his felowes, bicause thei taryng for the feast of Saturne, let slyp a great occasion of victozye. He sayde,  
the

the thinge shulde be done forth with, with out any delay  
which while they taried, & cōspiracy might come to light

**C**L. Multurcius wyth letters of Lentulus to Catiline, and the frenche  
Ambassadours be taken in theyr iourney. Cap. xlii.

**B**UT Marcus Cicero, knowyng what nyghte  
the Ambassadours and Multurcius woulde  
take their iourneye, with a verye friendly cou-  
rage commaunded L. Flaccus, and C. Pzomp-  
tinius the Pretours, that in the eueyng they shoulde  
beset the brydge Miluius wyth menne of armes on  
bothe sydes, and thys to accomplyshe, hee lycenced that  
they shoulde take with them certayne pyked yonge men  
of Rhetia, whyche he had ofte bled to haue aboute hym  
for the safegarde of his lyfe. He dysclofed to them all  
the hole matter, and committed the wealthe of the cytpe  
to their fidelitie. They atcheued the matter diligentlye,  
lyke as the consul had commanded. Beholde, after mid-  
nyght the french ambassadours, and wyth them Multur-  
cius, with a great company, came to the brydge Milui-  
us. Then sodeinelye on the one syde of the brydge L.  
Flaccus, on the other syde C. Pzomptinius wyth theyre  
swozdes drawen set vpon them. The frenchemen at the  
firste drew out their swozdes: after that knowyng their  
intencion, they lightly yelded them selues to the pretours.  
But Multurcius, when he had long defended hym selfe,  
waring feynt with bledyng, and ofte beseching Pzomp-  
tinius to saue his life, he yelded him self to them. Than  
the pretours toke from the frenchemen, and frome Mul-  
turcius their letters, and sendyng spedelye tydinges to  
the consull, whan the daye began to bryke, they brought  
then those that they had taken vnto the consul.

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The conspirators are by Cicero brought in to the Senate, and by the same ageynst them, and accusers are examined. Cap. xxx.

**B**UT the consull commaunded Gabinus, Lentulus, Cethegus, Satilius, and M. Ceparius to come forthwyth vnto hym, not doubtyng for the safegarde of the common weale, to susteyne the hated and malice of so many noble men. All the other suspectynge nothinge, came without delaye, Ceparius hearyng of the matter, fledde out of the cite; but within a while after he was taken in his iourney, and committed to the warde and keepynge of C. Terencius. But Cassius was departed oute of the cite alytell befoze the ambassadours, as though he wolde haue returned shortly agayne. When the frenche men hadde informed the consull, that Cethegus house was ful of armour and weapons, he sent thither P. Sulpicius the Pretor, whiche broughte oute of Cethegus house a huge greate numbze of harnesses. And whan the consull hadde inquired hym whether he intended to leade an armye in to any prouince, bycause he had gathered together soo muche multitude of harness: So truely saide he, but I haue alwaye had a desire to be well furnyshed wyth good harnesses. Than after that the Senate was quickely assembled, he commaunded the conspiratours and their detectours to come forth, beyng accompanied for sauegarde of hys bodye, wyth a myghty stronge bande of knyghtes and gentle men of Rome. And whan M. Vulturcius was broughte in to the Senate, he appointed .iiii. Senatours: C. Coscinius the pretor, M. Messala, P. Rigidus, App. Claudius, the which shuld wyte all the detectours sayinges inter:



interrogatozies and answers: the which men he knewe to be not onely vertuous and faithfull, but also of excellent memory and knowledge, & that could with great celeritie easely register those thynges that shulde be spoken: He demaunded of Vulturcius, what businesse hee had with the frenche menne, whither he was gorynge, to whome, and whoo deliuered to hym those letters that were founde about hym. At the fyrste Vulturcius beganne to feine and dissemble many thinges concerninge his iourney and the lettres: but after that by commandment of the Senate, the consull had warrainted hym, he sayde, hee hadde commendations and letters of D. Lentulus, and that a fewe daies past he was allured to the felowship of this Cōspiracy by Gabinius and Caparius, and thus he harde saye, that D. Antronius. Seruius. Sylla. C. Cornelius. L. Vergunteius, and many other were of the same conspiracy: and that they had consented and agreed to burne the citty, to murder the ci-  
tezens, to wast and destroy Italy, and clerely extinct the common weale. When the french men were brought in, they sayd, they had an othe and letters deliuered them to beare to their nation: and that they herde L. Cassius say, that all they, which Vulturcius had before named were bent with them. And in maner they told y self same that Vulturcius had shewed of burnynge sleing, and murdering of the citelins. And they shewed what a great strife was betwene Cethegus & the other, bicause Lentulus and the other wold do this feate at the feast of Saturne, and Cethegus sayd, this warre requyred great speede. Furthermore they declared all that Lentulus had spoken vnto theym of Sibils prophery, and of other matters, by whose meanes, and how often they

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had ben with hym. Then M. Tullius caused sodeinlye the letters to be brought forth, and commanded to open them. fyste he shewed them to Cethegus: he knowledged his hande and his seale, the letters were read openly, the sentence oz effect of which was this: They intended surely to accomplyshe those thinges that they hadde confirmed to their ambassadoures, desiringe that they wolde perfozme those thynges that their ambassadours vndertooke. Statilius letters were read, the effecte of which was lyke the other. After that the consul shewed the letters to Lentulus, saying: Knowest not thou thys seale Lentulus? He graunted to be hys. This is (sayde the consull) the image of that mooste noble manne, thy graund father, which only loued his countrey and citizens, the whych domme Image ought to haue reuoked thy mynde from so horzible a deede. And he inquired of hym whether he had not talked wpth the frenchemen of Sibyls prophecie: And sodeinly he confessed it, whiche no manne thought he wolde haue done. Than he had licence to speke in his defence what he wolde. But Lentulus, althoughe he were a good oratour, yet conuicted of his owne conscience, he was clene discouraged, oute of countinaunce, charged coloure, and had not a worde to speake. To be bryefe. They confessed truthe. And not withstandynge that Gabinius at the fyste beganne styffely to denye, yet at the laste he disproued nothyng. But besyde their ietters, seales, their owne handes, and euery mannes confession, the feare disturbance in them selfe, suspended and wauerynge countenance, and ofte chaunging of colour condempned them.

The thanks and most ample prayes geuen of the Senate to Cicero  
for detection of the conspiracie. Cap. xxxi.



After the deteccions openlye publyshed, the  
Consull consulted wyth the Senate, what  
theire pleasure was, to bee doone concer-  
nyng the safegarde of the common weale.  
Than fyrste the Senate gaue hym mooste  
hyghe thanks, that by hys power, counsell, laboure,  
and diligence, (with the danger of his owne life) without  
bpzoze, without bludshedynge, without an army, with-  
out contencion in batayle .iiij. men beyng taken, the citie  
from burnyng, the citizens frome murder, Italy frome  
wastyng, and spoylyng, and the common weale from vt-  
ter destruccions was deliuered. And they so adozned hym  
with laudes and preisinges, as neuer man before at any  
tyme with so manye and so synguler woordes was in the  
Senate lauded. Q. Catulus, the prince and chief of the  
Senatours, & M. Cato that mooste worthy man, & that  
most derely loued the comon weale, in the gretest assem-  
bly of the senatours called hym Pater patrie, the father  
of the countrey. L. Silius, a man ful of honour & boun-  
tifulnes, sayd. The comon weale, for his reward ought  
to geue hym a cunyle garland. Finally all that had bene  
or were meete to be consules, and pretours soo lauded  
hym, that there was no man, whiche dyd not geue lyke  
thanks as he had ben their father, whiche thought not  
that by his meanes the comon weale, their goodes, their  
chylzen and their liues were saued. And also they for-  
get not to laude and praise L. Flaccus and C. Pomp-  
tinius, for that the consull hadde founde them soo valy-  
aunt, so diligent, and so faithfull in that hys busines.

A cunyle  
garland of  
oken leues  
was vsed  
to be geue  
to hym that  
had saued  
a citizen in  
batayle.

D. iij.

The



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The sentence of the Senate concerning the  
conspiratours. Cap. xxxii.

**I**N the chiefe rulers gaue moste sharp  
and sore sentences agaynste the conspyra-  
tours. **L.** Julius Caesar, a maine of great  
authoritie said: that **P.** Lentulus (husband  
to his sister Iulya, being there present, and  
hering hym) was worthy to suffre dethe. But the Se-  
nate decreed thus, that **P.** Lentulus shuld yelde by his  
pretorship, and be comitted to ward. And also decreed,  
that **C.** Cethegus, **P.** Statilius, **P.** Gabinius, whiche  
were all presente, shulde be committed to warde. The  
selfe same was decreed (if they myght be apprehended) a-  
gaynst **L.** Cassius, **M.** Ceparius (for he was not yet ta-  
ken) **P.** furius, **M.** Chilo, **P.** Umbrenus, a man ma-  
numised, the whiche brought the frenche men fyrste to  
Gabinius. Last of all, the Senate by **L.** Cotta, a man  
of excellent wysedome, highe prudence, and greatly re-  
noumed for his noble actes, decreed to Cicero Sup-  
plications: whiche honour was done to no man of peace  
before hym. For Supplications were alwey decreed for  
a thinge prosperously gested and done against an enne-  
mie, in ciuile warre neuer was decreed. But vnto hym,  
not for the sleing of ennemies, but for the conseruation  
of the citelins, in a certayne new kynde vnharde of, it  
was decreed. Why Salust omitted all these thinges, I  
greatly marueile, except it were, bicause he was Ciceros  
enemie: the whiche also past ouer many other thinges,  
lest he shulde preysse hym whom he loued not.

Why

Why in cruile warre Triumphe after victoꝝ is to none  
graunted. Cap. xxlii.

**B**ut Plinius, a greate authoꝝ sayth, that a  
triumphe was also decreed to Cicero. Albeit, I  
could scarcely be perswaded to beleue, that a tri-  
umphe was to Cicero decreed. For Cicero, a mā  
alwaye desiringe inordinately greate gloꝝy, seinge he  
maketh mention of the Supplication in so many pla-  
ces of his boke, wolde not haue omitted to speke of the  
triumphe. And we haue not redde, that in ciuile warre a  
triumphe was euer decreed, noꝝ so muche as ones desi-  
red. For L. Sylla beinge consull, made ciuile warre,  
oppressed M. Sulpius, dꝛoue C. Marius out of the ci-  
tie, and many other citelins, part he banyshed, and parte  
he slewe. With Octavius, Cinna his felow consull vari-  
ed: Fortune was fauozable to eche of theym, fyrste to  
Octavian, and then to Cinna and Marius she gaue  
victoꝝy. Agayne the same Sylla afterwarde reuenged  
the victoꝝy of Cinna: and yet of neyther of these is any  
mention made of triumphe. But M. Catulus, that most  
noble and wyse man, whan he had banquished M. Le-  
pidus his felowe in offyce, with all his most troublous  
bandes and companies, dyd not triumphantly, no noꝝ  
with any ioyful chere entre the citye. For the ciuile vic-  
toꝝies, although they were right noble, and to the weale  
publyke moſte profitable, yet were they alwey esteemed  
lamentable, for as muche as some parte of the cytꝝ be-  
wayled them. And it semed at that tyme to euery manne  
sufficient, Cicero so to be handeled most honozably, that  
in his name to the gods immortal (that as we sayd, be-  
fore

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fore hym neuer chaunced to man) supplication was decreed. At rysinge and departyng of the senate, Lentulus was committed to the custody and keepyng of M. Lentulus Spinter, which was then in the office Edilis: M. Statilius, in C. Cesar y pretor, C. Cethegus to Q. Cornificius, and Gabinius to M. Crassus. But the common people of Rome, whiche before beyng desirous of newe busines and ruffelinge, fauored Catilines enterprise, it is incredible, the conspiracie being detected, with what heart and courage they weere kended to defende their libertie. They stroue with the Senatours, whiche of them loued the common weale beste. They esteemed Cicero to be a greate and an excellent manne: they called hym the keper of their libertye, the preseruer of their citye, and the father of the countrey. Whose magnitude of mynde, whose counsailes, they wyth prayles extolled as hyghe as heauen.

The nexte daye, the Senate gaue to the frenche ambassadours, and to Titus Vulturcius, approuing their deteccion, right great and ample rewardes.

Cicero writeth, that at the same season ther were many, the which no man acculing or repprouing them, were forced with prickynge of their conscience, to disclose themselves to be of the conspiracy. The violence of their conscience is great: the whiche constraineth men, that haue done any wicked or damnable dede, though it were secretely, many tymes yet to bewayne and disclose themselves. For the conscience for the mysdedes, and paine of the lawes, suffereth the transgressours, not onely neuer carelesse to take reste, but also not once to drawe theyr breath without feare.

L. Tar=

Violence  
of conscien-  
ce.

In myd of the conspiracie



L. Tarquinius caused M. Crassus to be suspecte of the  
conspiracy. Cap. xxxiii.



THE same tyme one of the conspira-  
tours, called L. Tarquinius (vpon a safe-  
conducte) was bzought before the Senate,  
to open and shewe what he knewe of the con-  
spiracie: and hee declared to them the same  
thynges that the frenche ambassadoures and T. Vul-  
turius tolde, of the burnyng of the cite, of the murthe-  
rynge of the citizens, and of all those that were confede-  
rate to doo this myschiefe. Moreouer he saide, that M.  
Crassus was companion and partener of the conspira-  
cie: and howe he hadde certaine messages frome hym to  
Catiline, that he shuld not be discouraged, although the  
captaines of the warre in the cite were taken & in hold,  
but that he shuld with all celeritie and speede haste hym  
with his army to the cite, to deliuer the conspiratours  
oute of pryson, and to accomplyshe all other thynges a-  
monge them ordeyned and appoynted: In the cite all  
thynges was full of feare. But whan Tarquinius na-  
med Crassus, many of his familiar friendes, of whome  
he had a great nombze, sayd with a loude voice: The de-  
tectour is false and cozrupted with meede.

The oracion defensiu made for M. Crassus by hye  
friendes Cap. xxxv.



ALL thinges honozable fathers (sayd they)  
whiche are mooste greuous and cruell, what  
anye manne woll doo oz unagine, shoulde not  
be pondered after the voyce and speeche of the  
people, but accordeinge to his lyfe and maners, whyche  
is accused. For if M. Crassus (prudente fathers) shulde

therfore

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therfore be demed culpable, bicause Tarquinius accuseth hym amonge the conspyratours, what shoulde it profite hym, to haue ledde euer moze hitherto a life most pure withoute blame or shame? What dyfference than shall there be betwene the good menne and the yuell? What man moste innocent or vertuous can assure hym self from deceytes, if it behoueth to gyue credence to the yuel sayeng of euery lewede and vngratious person. But if we shall examine the lyfe of M. Crassus, what bodyly lust lurketh, what mischeuous dede lieth hydde, what crueltye, or what braynsicke boldenes: there shall be neyther errour nor obscuritie in the cause. So greate is the greatnes of this mischiefe, that without fylthy youthe, without many yuel dedes befoze comitted, without a lyfe defiled with all damnable actes, without prodigall expence with diswoozship and shame, without vnbidled boldnes be shewed, and not onely braynsyke boldnes, but very furoz and madnes, no manne will beleue, that euer he wolde entrepryse soo heynous, so cruel, and so bitter a dede. Furthermore we muste lay hze vnto, a lust to rule, the hate of peace and good men, drede of punishment, dishonest frendes, dette, pouerty, tyme meete and conuenient. All whiche thynges excepte they be manifest; truly (as we saye) so vngratious a dede so cruell, and so farre agaynst all reason, wyll not be beleued. What thyng, what hope, what lewede luste coude enforce Crassus to do suche a dede? Coude nede or scarstie compel hym, whiche is so riche, that there are fewe or none in this great multitude of men, that haue moze aboundance of riches? Coude ambition, whiche oft tymes maketh many men noughte: for bothe good and badde desyre glozy, honour, rule, gouernaunces of prouinces,

uinces, dignities of the church, and triumphes. The  
 good men by vertue: the ille men mistrustynge theyr vn-  
 worthines, by naughty and crafty menes crepe by: and  
 the honours whiche they, thynges beyng in quiet and  
 good order, despayre to wyne: by rustynge and trou-  
 bling of the comon weale, they thynke to opteyne. Than  
 thus hath not Crassus in peace & rest attayned vnto the  
 moste auncient and highe honours of the Cytie without  
 repulce: Snt peradventure his vngentyl maners fierce  
 cruelty, vnbzidled boldnes enforced Crassus vnto this.  
 Who is more courteyse then he: Who is more mylde:  
 What dede dyd we euer se hym do, ouer boldly, or wyth-  
 out good aduiselement and consideracion: We omit now  
 the weale publike, which hath euer ben to Crassus most  
 derely beloued. We speke nothyng of his estate, of hys  
 maner of lyvinge, of his nature, of his most gentyl con-  
 ditions, of his incredible loue toward good men, of hys  
 study and diligence to conserue the common quiet reste  
 and peace. For we do not omit those thynges, as though  
 they were not of most weyghty importance but bycause  
 they are to you notably knowen. Is it than credible,  
 that in this most honest mynde, in this lyfe, so abhomi-  
 nable a dede coulde take place: Loke well vnto hym,  
 and beholde those other, laye the crime and his lyfe to-  
 gether. Whold Crassus burne the cyty, sle the senatours  
 wast Italy, destroye the weale publyke, and byrnye the  
 name of the people of Rome to naught: This suspitiou  
 honozable fathers, taketh no holde on this pure honest  
 mynde, on this lyfe, on this man. They were sauage  
 beastes, wyld and cruell, in the shap of men, that went  
 aboute to destroye those thynges. And what ment it:  
 whan Traquintus named Antronius, Murgunteius,



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Lecca, Seruius, Sylla, Cornelius, and manye other, that ye all attentiuely gaue eare: for those, if no manne wolde accuse them, yet their condicions and lyfe wolde conuince theym. But whan hee beganne to name M. Crassus, dydde not euery man vehementlye crye oute agaynste hym: for no manne demed that the lyfe of anye man could so sodenly be changed, or nature altered: that he which a lytle befoze was the beste and most honeste man, wolde anone after in crueltie passe the wyld beasts. Consider a lytell in your myndes honorable fathers (for so ye shall vnderstande how far of, Crassus is from suspicion of thys heynous dede) consider I saye, Catiline, Antronius, Cassius, Cethegus, Lætulus, Gabinius, and other men which are alied to this detestable dede, what murthers, what aduoutries, what robzyes, howe manye and what greate vnhheard of and singular dedes of myschiefe, of bzaineslicke boldenesse, of voluptuous pleasure, of falsehoode, of promise breakynge, of crueltye, of auarice shall ye fynde in these menne: Who doth marueile, that Catiline hath conspired against the weale publike: beyng of all men (sythe man was firste formed) the most mischeuest, & most cruel, and the most fylthy. Whych hath defiled so many woorthypful wyues, so many noble yonge men, whome L. Sylla appointed to sle the knyghtes of Roome: amonge the whiche hee slewe Catullus his systers husbande, and M. Marius moste derely beloued of the people of Rome. Whiche in Affrica destroyed many houses, spoyled many townes, and all the temples, and so vexed and wasted that prouince, that (as it semed) it coulde scasllye bee restored agayne in many yeres after. In whose lyfe there can be founde no houre voyde from aduoutrye, from murder, from

from mischief, from cruelty, from doing y<sup>e</sup> dedes, tohom  
 we sawe afterwarde accused of perpe bziberpe, and in-  
 cest: & tohom alway al men thought to be bozne to make  
 discorde and variance in the common weale. Who won-  
 dereth that Lentulus was familiarly acquainted w<sup>th</sup>  
 hym, seinge he was nedye, sumptuous, bolde, proude, le-  
 cherous: Wherto shulde we reherse the furious bzaine-  
 sykenes of Cethegus: or how he wounded Pius Me-  
 tellus: Who was euer moze stubbozne, moze fierce, or  
 moze cruell than he: And who coulde bee founde moze  
 boluptuous, moze lecherous, moze deceiteful thā Antro-  
 nius: Whome we knewe was condempned for ambici-  
 on, tohome wee knewe committed murther, and spoiled  
 the temples of our confederate friendes. It were an in-  
 finite busines, to declare to you all their dedes: But it  
 is your part honozable fathers, though we reherse them  
 not, keeping silence inwardly to mynde all those, whiche  
 are knowen to haue conspired. For ye shall wel perceiue  
 eche of them to be sooner condempned of his owne lyfe,  
 then by oure suspicion. Wyddest thou than thynke Tar-  
 quinius with those deteccions to brynge Crassus from  
 this dignitie of familiars, in to thys flocke, in to thys  
 nombze of wicked captiues and parent sleyers: Is it not  
 now apparant, honozable fathers, that those crimes are  
 feyned: Do ye not se that thynge, that the detectoz hathe  
 sayd of Crassus, corrupted eyther w<sup>th</sup> meede or hope,  
 or with drede depraued, or elles to procede of ennemies:  
 Wherfoze let not this gappe lye open to ennemies, that  
 who so euer a manne dothe hate, hym by some detectour  
 in false crimes appealed, he may rydde out of lyfe. Suf-  
 fer y<sup>e</sup> in most greatest crimes, the life of euery man may  
 be his witnes. Ketepe styll this muste worthye citzzen.

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this moste valyant man, that most derely loued this honorable Senate, and that is so prompte and redy wyth harte and mynde to all thinges, that shulde be prouided for the common weale. Finally loke well to, that this most noble and most mighty man by your cruelty shuld not seme to be violently intreated.

The decree of the Senate for M. Crassus, the suspicion agens Cicero, and his purgation. Cap. xxxvi.



As much as somme thought this thing incredible, and some other though they beleued it, yet knowynge the manne to be so myghty puissaunt and rich, in suche a troublous time, demed it better by all wayes and meanes to reteyne his fauour, than sterc hym to displeasure, the Senate decreed, Tarquinius detection to be false, he to be committed to prison, and clene to be put to silence, excepte he wolde shewe, who instanted hym to feyne so great a thyng. There were somme the same season that thought this detector had bene subornated by M. Antronius, to shend that Crassus, for the danger of their felowshyp, shulde with his riches helpe the conspiratours. Other there were amog the which also was Crassus him selfe, whiche beleued, that this man was craftily broughte in by Cicero, to shende that Crassus for this suspicion, shulde not take vpon hym the defence of those that were in prison. Wherbyon there arose exceeding greate hatred betwene Crassus and Cicero. But the yonge man M. Crassus, the preisar, the folower, and louer of Cicero, did let Crassus to pursue Cicero opely, But by whose counsaile Tarquynius was craftilye brought in, as yet we know not the certaynety. We beleue



lene not, that it was Ciceros drift. For this is playne, that M. Catulus and C. Piso, Cæsars enemies, could for no fauour opteyne of hym, that C. Cæsar eyther by the frenche ambassadoures, or by any other detectour, shuld be named to be in the conspiracy of Catiline. And I fynde that Cicero in this busines bare hym selfe very bypptyghtly with out any parcialyte. He neyther accused any man as culpable of this mischiuous dede wyth out a clere probation, or kepte secreete for frendship, or for mede conceled any man.

Of Lentulus and his felowes sedition seruantes bond and fre, and wonderfull token shewed to Cicero. Cap. xxviii.

**W**HILE these thinges were in doinge all Lentulus and Cethegus seruantes bonde and free, ran aboute from tauerne to tauerne, from shoppe to shoppe to stir vp the myndes with mede of such as were neddy and naught. And whan they had repled by a great rout of craftis menne, they by dyuers wayes prepared to inuade the Pryetors houses. But the Confull hauynge knowlege therof had in his mynd many imaginations, what shulde be done with the conspiratours that were take, and in holde, if he shuld do punishmente on them, the conspiracy were extyncte: but being milde and mercifull in all his lyfe, he dradde the name of cruelty: and right wel forsaue, that for this matter he shulde in time to come be in danger of great hatred and enuie. Whyle he mused on this matter, somme wyzte, that this wonderfull token was shewed to hym, as they were doinge sacrifice in his house for the people, on the alter, the fire beyng

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beynge almoste quenched, sodeynly out of the ashes and imbers, a longe and a pure flame burned by bright, and answere was made by the diuinours, that Cicero shuld not doubt to accomplishe those thinges for the common weale, wherabout he in his mind so much mused, & that thereby to hym of the goddes immortall was sygnified great fame and glozy. I dare not affirme, whether this be true or no, because we reade that such sacrifice for the people was not wont to be done in þe consuls house, but alwaies in the high byshops. Furthermoze Cicero was nothing moued with such wonderfull sygnes & tokens.

¶ The sentence of D. Syllanus and other noble men gyven agaynst the conspiratours. Cap. xxviii.

**T**HAN the consull strongelye fortified the citee, and with all celeritie and speede assembled the Senate, and required their aduise what shulde be donne with those that were in holde. Than D. Syllanus, elected to bee consull, was first desired to say his mind, whose sentence was, that those that were in warde, also L. Cassius, whiche desired to be charged with the burnynge of the citee. D. Furius, Manlius Chilo, Q. Annius, D. Umbrenus, which were alwaye occupied in solicytynge the frenche ambassadours (if they myghte be taken) shulde be put to deathe. To this agreed the other that had ben or like to be consuls, and namely Q. Catulus, in an oration full of seueritie, sayd that the conspiratours oughte not to lyue and enioye this hyghte one momente of an houre. But whan it came to C. Cesar, and C. Nero, to saye their mynnes, they began to reason the contrarie, and sayde. They oughte not to be put to deathe, bycause  
the

the lawes dyde it prohibyte, but their iudgement was that the conspiratours, their goodes beyng confiscate, shulde be sundred and surely kepte in dyuerse holdes vntyll that Catilene were by warre vanquished. This matter Salust wytereth as foloweth.

**T**he oration of C. Caesar, wherein he contendeth, that the conspiratours shulde not be put to death, but kepte continually in prison. Cap. xxxi.

**I**t becommeth all menne, honozable fathers, whiche shall gyue counsaile and saye their aduise in matters doubtfull, to be cleane without hatred, frendship, wrath, and mercy. The mynde can not easily foze the trouthe, where those affections beare a stroke, nor no man at one tyme foloweth his y<sup>e</sup>l affection, and the profit of the weale publyke, where vnto a manne applyeth his wylt, there it auayleth. If affection possesse the wylt, the ruleth, reason auayleth nothyng. I coulde abundantly recyte vnto you honozable fathers, what kinges and people moued with wrath or mercy, haue ylle and hurtfully ordered theym selves in consultation, but I wyl rather reherse to you, what our forefathers haue done wel & ordinatly ageynst their natural inclination.

**I**n the warre of Macedony, which we made ageynst the kynge of Persy, the great and myghty cyty of Rhodes (whiche increased in greate ryches by the goodes of the people of Rome) was vnto vs contrarpe and vnfaithful. But after the war was finished, they counceled what shulde be done of the Rhodians: Our forefathers let them go vnpunished, lest any man shulde saye, that the warre was begun ageynste theym, moze for wynn-



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nyng of ryches than to reuenge iniurye.

Also in al the warres Punycke, whan the Carthagi-  
nois, ofte tymes bothe in tyme of peace and truce dyd  
many detestable deedes ageynste all ryght, yet our fore-  
fathers hauyng accasyon, neuer dyd such thinges, they  
sought more, what became them, then what they myght  
laufully do ageynst their enemies. This thing also, ho-  
norable fathers shuld of you be foreseene, lest the dete-  
stable deede of P Lentulus, and the other conspira-  
tors, shuld more inforce you to reueng, than besemeth  
your dygnyty, or rather incline to your wraethe, than to  
your honorable fame. For if worthy punishmente for  
their deedes be founde, I approue new counsil. But if y  
gretnes of y mischeuous dede both passe all mens wyts  
my mynd is to vse those punishmentes which are ordey-  
ued by the lawes: Many of them y before me haue sayd  
theyr myndes, discretely and magnificently haue bewai-  
led the decay of the comon weale, and haue full eloquent-  
ly reckened bp, how cruel a thing warre is, what yuels  
chanceth to them that are conquered, the virgins ravi-  
shed the yong babes and children vyolently pulled out  
of the fathers and mothers armes, the honeste wyues  
must suffre what soo euer please the subduers, the tem-  
ples and houses are spoyled, slaughter, and burnynges  
are done, finally all thinges fylled with armour, carcas-  
ses, bloud, and lamentations. But tell me I praye you,  
wherto serueth that oration: was it to stonake you a-  
geynst the conspiracy: If so greate and so cruell a dede  
will not moue a mans spirites, shall an oration kendell  
hym: It is not lykely. For there is no mortall creature  
that thinketh his wronges littell: many haue taken  
these their iniuries more greuouely than ryght requi-  
red

red. But some thinge honozable fathers may better be  
suffered in some men than in other some. If the priuate  
persons, that lyue obscurely vnknownen, comit thzough  
anger any dishoneste dede: fewe knowe it. Their fame  
& fortune are egal. The greate rulars and hygh gouer-  
nours, all men knowe their actes. So in hyghest fely-  
citie, is least libertye to do a myse. It belemeth suche  
menne not to be spitefull, not to beare hatred, but, in no  
wyse to be angry. The affection which in other is called  
anger in the hygh rulars is named Pride and crueltie.  
Surely, honozable fathers, I deme all turmentes lasse  
than their detestable dedes. But many men remebzing  
the last punisshementes, and forgettingte the mischenous  
dede of the transgressours, they reason of the peyne,  
whether it be moze cruell than it shulde be. I surely  
knowe, that what so euer the honozable and mozte ba-  
liant man, D. Syllanus hath sayde, he spake it for the  
great affection that he beareth to the common weale.  
Neyther hath he in so weyghty a cause, said any thyng  
for fauour, nor yet for hatred, I know his maners and  
sobzenes to be suche. Truly his sentence to me semeth  
not cruel (for what cruelty can be done to suche menne,  
but yet not all thyng agreable to the common weale.  
For certeynely either dreade or iniury hath constreyned  
you Syllanns, chosen consull for the yere to come, to  
adiudge the conspiratours to suffer a new kynde of pu-  
nisshement. As touchyng feare, to reason therof it were  
but in bayne, namely sith the great dyligence of the no-  
ble consul hath soo strongly warded and defended the  
cyty with men of armes. As concernyng their punish-  
ment, I may speke as the truthe is, that death to those  
that be in heuynes and misery is not a tourmente, but

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rather a quyet and rest from all wofull wretchednes.  
For death fynishethe all griefes and euyls that mortall  
creatures endure. But I pray you Syllane, why dyd  
you not adde, that they shulde be fyrst beaten: was it  
bycause the lawe Porcia, or some other lawes do prohi-  
bit it: Lyke wyse the lawes forbidd that citezens con-  
demned shulde be put to death, but they commaunde to  
banishe them. Left ye that vnspoken, bycause it is moze  
greuous to be beaten, than to be put to deathe: And  
yet what punyshemente is to cruell or greuous to men  
conuicte of soo greate and detestable a deede: But if  
you spake not of beatynge, bycause it is easier: howe  
inconuenient is it to feare the lawe in the lesse busines,  
and to neglecte it in the greater: For who shall repre-  
hend that that is decreed ageynst traitours to the com-  
mon weale: Tyme, day, fortune, after whose luste na-  
tions are ruled. To them what soo euer euyl hapneth,  
chanceth accordyng to their deseruinges. But consider  
honorable fathers, what lawes ye ordeyne for other. All  
euyl examplers take their beginning of good thiges for  
after imperial gouernaunce instituted by good me, came  
to þ handling of those that were euyl: þ new exāple was  
transferred from the worthy and mete, to the vnworthy  
& vnmet persones. When the Lacedemonians had sub-  
dued þ Athenienses, they ordeyned. xxx. menne to rule þ  
common weale. They at the fyrst put no man to death  
but suche as for their offences were iustely condemned.  
The people was ryght glade of this law, and sayde, it  
was very well done. But after, this licence increasinge  
by littell and littell, they slewe for their pleasure as well  
good men as bad, and put the other in feare, and so the  
citie brynge oppressed with bondage and thraldome,  
they



they greuously repented theyr former folythe gladnes.  
**W**e remembre, Sylla hauynge the upper hande,  
 commaunded Damasippus and suche other hope lostes,  
 that were growen riche, to the great hurte of the com-  
 mon weale, to be put to dethe. Who dyd not preysse hys  
 dede: They sayd, vngracious and detestable persons,  
 and such as with seditions troubled the common weale,  
 were well and iustely put to dethe. But that thinge was  
 the beginning of a greate mischefe. For if any of Syl-  
 las souldiours coueted to haue any mans house in the  
 cite, manour in the countrey, iewel, or garmente, they  
 dyd their endeuoure, that he, whose good they desired,  
 might be amonge the nombere of theym that were pro-  
 scribed. So that they, whiche reioysed at the death of  
 Damasippus, were sone after brought to the same end.  
 Neyther was there any ende of slaughter vntyll that  
 Sylla had aboundantly satisfied hys souldiours wyth  
 ryches. But I neither feare this thing in M. Tullius,  
 nor at this tyme, but in a greafe cytie, many and diuerse  
 are the wittes. An other tyme, an other beyng consul,  
 and hauinge an army at his commaundemente, some  
 thyng false may be beleued to be trewe: whan suche a  
 consull after this example, by decree of the senate, shall  
 drawe out his sword, who shall make hym put it vp:  
 or who shall moderate hym: Our auncestours, hono-  
 rable fathers, wanted at any tyme neyther counsell,  
 nor boldnes, neyther pryde letted theym to folowe the  
 lawes and maners of other nacions, yf they were al-  
 lowable. Armour and weapons of warre, they toke of  
 the Samnites, many ornamentes belongynge to the  
 great offycers and rulers, they receyued of the Tus-  
 canys. Finally, where so euer they sawe any mete or con-

A man  
 proscrip-  
 ted, was in  
 case that  
 the sycke  
 that mete  
 him might  
 be fully  
 as hym.

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uenient thyng amonge their frendes oz foes, the same boith great dilygence they bled at home. They wolde rather folow, than enuy those that were good. But oure auncestours folowynge the maners of the Greekes, punished their citizins with beatynges, and put to deathe suche as were condemned. After the publike weale increased, and that partakenge amonge the people began to grow, by reason of the multitude: the innocentes began to be circumuented, and other such lyke mischifes to be practised, than the lawe Porcia and other lawes were ordeined, by the which exyle was granted to them that were condemned. Therfore I thynke this cause, mooste honorable fathers, to be very great, wherby we shall not nede to take any new counsell. Verily, there was moze veray and wysedome in them that of so small ryches brought this impire to soo greate welth and renoume, than in vs, whiche can scasefly maynteyne and kepe thinges well wonne. Is it therfore my mind that they shulde be let go, and increase Catilines army? No truly. But my iudgemente is that their goodes be forfeite, and they to remayne in pryson in suche townes belonginge to Rome, as be mooste welthy. Nor that none from hensforthe shulde sue to the senate, oz labour to the people for them, And he that wolde so do, the senate to esteeme hym to do ageynste the weale publike, & sauegarde of vs all,

The oracion and sentence of Caesar, pleased very much euen the frendes of Cicero. Cap. xl,



**W** H this oracio of Caesar, soo much altered were mēs mindes quickly, & suche dzed of false accusatyō & cruelty toke theim: y D. Sillanus greatly

greatlye repented hym of his sentence, that he was the principall and chiefe that iudged the conspiratoures to deathe: and was glad afterwarde w<sup>th</sup> interpretacion to myttigate his sentence (for shame it was to change it) and so to folowe the iudgement of Tiberius Nero. And some other there were, that wold rather seme moze bolder in geuing sentēce, which said: They minded nothing their owne perilles, but feared lest the consul shulde not be stronge ynoughe to accomplyshe their ordinaunces. But the frendes and kinsfolke of the consul were most specially moued w<sup>th</sup> thys oracion. They consideringe what greate enuye and hatered of the commune people myght here after arysle against Cicero, if the senat breakeinge the lawe Porcia, shulde without the consente of the people, put noble citezens to deathe, they all agreed to the sentence of Caesar, and prayed the consul that he wolde loke to his owne saluegard and profit, neyther colde they in the meane whyle absteyne from teares. Caesar, by his oracion dratynge soo many to hym, among whom was also Qu. Cicero, had obteyned his purpose, if the oracion of the most prudent consul, and Cato, had not encouraged the senatours myndes, that began to quayle. The consul was of nature mylde and mercifull, but except he shuld than haue shewed sharpenes, he sawe the weale publyke lyke to be brought in to greate daunger. For if they shewed them selve moze softe and gentle, they deemed that the conspiratours shoulde be the bolder and moze encouraged, and in the meane tyme, some commocion myght ryle in the cite. But if they shewed them selues very behemente againste those that were taken, he foresawe that all the puissaunce, all the hoope, all the ryches of the conspiratours, these perils



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rylles of the citey beinge put awaye, shulde sodeinelye quaille. And though he vnderstode, that thys thyng could not be brought to passe wythoute great daungeir of his owne lyfe, yet so derely loued he the comon weale that he moze esteemed the welth publyke, than his owne lyfe. Than whan he sawe the senate inclinyng to Caesars sentence, coueting to slaye them beginnyng to wa-  
uer, rose vp and sayd as hereafter foloweth.

¶ The oration of the consull against the  
conspiratours. Cap. xli.



**I**S E, honorable fathers, all youre by-  
sages and eyes tourned towarde mee, I  
see you not onelye for youre owne peryll,  
and for the publyke weale, but also (if  
that weere put awaye) verpe heauye and  
thoughteful for the daungeire that I am  
in. Your good wyll towarde me, is to me in aduersitie  
ioyful, and in sorowe acceptable: But I beserche you for  
the goddes sakes immortall, set asyde that good wyll,  
and forgettyng my sauegarde, thinke vpon your selfe,  
and your chyldren. If this condicion of consullshyppe be  
geuen me, that I shulde suffer all bytter aduersities, all  
sorowes and tormentes, I wyll beare them not onelye  
stoutely, but also wyllinglie: so that by my trauailes to  
you and the people of Rome, honorable fathers, digni-  
tie and prosperitie maye be procured. I am that consull  
honorable senatoures, for whose sake neyther the com-  
mon place of iudgement, wherin al equity is contained:  
nor the fielde, consecrate for chosynge of highe officers:  
nor this court of senatours, the speciall ayde of all na-  
cions: nor my house, the common refuge of all men: nor  
my

my bedde ordeined for reste, nor finallye this honorable place, this seate appointed for the mooste hyghe gouernours, was neuer voyde from peryll of deathe, and discreytes. Many thinges haue I kepte secrete, many thinges haue I endured, many thynges haue I graunted, many thynges to my greate sorowe, beinge in dreede for you, haue I holpe. Nowe if the goddes immortall wyll this to be the ende of my consulshyppe, that I shulde deliuer you honorable fathers, and the citizens of Rome frome miserable slaughter, your wyues and chyldrene and the byrginnes Vestalles, from bitter vexacion, the temples and holy places, this our mooste goodlye cowntrey from mooste cruell bournynge, al Italy from warre and destruccion, what soo euer fortune is appointed to me onely, I wyll aduenture it. For if P. Lentulus, induced by the southesayers, thoughte that hys name was predestinate to destroye the publyke weale, why shoulde not I reioyse that my consulshyppe is ordeyned for the conseruacion of the same common weale? Wherefore honorable fathers, prouide for your selues, see too the sauegarde of youre cowntrey, saue your selues, your wyues, youre chylzen, and youre goodes, and defende the name and wealth of the people of Roome: take ye noo care nor thought for me. For firste my speciall truste is, that all the goddes whiche preserue this cite, wyll rewarde me, accordinge to my deseruinges. Secondelye if any thyng chaunce, I wyll with an vpryghte mynde and a good courage, dye. For vnto a valiaunte manne deathe is not shamefull, nor vnto a Consull, it commeth not to sone, ne vnto a wyse man it is not wretched. And yet haue I not so yron a stomacke, but that I am moued wyth the sorow of my most dere and louing brother

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here present, and with the teares of all those, whiche ye  
se inuiron me about: also my wyfe that is halfe deade,  
oftentimes reuoketh my minde homewardes, and my  
doughter well nere deade for feare, and my litell sonne,  
the whiche seemeth to me, dothe imbrace the common  
weale, as a pledge of my consulschyppe, nor my sonne in  
lawe, that standeth here awaytinge the ende of this day  
all these thynges doo moue me, but yet in such wyse,  
that all shuld be in sauetie with vs, yea rather I wold  
some vyolence shoulde oppresse me, than they, and we  
with the common weale shoulde peryshe togyther.  
Wherfore honourable fathers, stycke to the sauegarde  
of the common weale, prouyde suretye for all stormes  
that maye falle. Withoute ye take good hede, not **C.**  
**Gracchus**, whiche wolde ones agayne be made prote-  
ctour of the comminalltie, nor **C. Gracchus**, that went  
about to reuue the lawes Agrarie, nor **L. Saturni-**  
**nus**, which slew **C. Memmius**, is brought to any ieo-  
pardy, or to your sharpe iudgemente: but they are in  
holde, that tarped styll in Rome, to houre the citie, to  
murder you al, and so to receyue in Catilin. We haue  
theyr letters, theyr scales, theyr owne hand wrytynges  
and fynally eche of theyr owne confessions. The frenche  
ambassatours are sollicitid, the slaues and seruantes  
are styred by, Catilinye is sent for. This counsel haue  
they taken, that all beyng slayne, no man shuld be left,  
to betwayne the name of the common weale, and to la-  
ment the calamitie of so great an empire. All these thin-  
ges the detectours haue declared, the accused haue con-  
fessed. You haue iudged it by manye tokens soo to bee:  
first in that ye haue geuen me hygh thanks in special  
woordes, and haue affirmed, that by mine industrie and  
dili



diligence, the conspiracy of these hope losses, is openly knownen: further in that ye haue compellyd Lentulus to yelde vp his office of Pretorshyp. And in that ye haue gyuen sentence, that he and the other shoulde be committed to ward, and specially that ye haue decreed procession to be made in my name, whiche honour was neuer done to any man in tyme of peace befoze me. Finally, in that ye rewarded yester day so magnificently the frenche ambassatours and C. Vulturcius. All whiche thynges are of suche sorte, that they whiche by name are put in holde, wythout doubt seme of you to be condemned. But I determyned to referre holly vnto you honorable fathers, bothe what you wyll iudge of the dede, & what you wyll determynen touchynge the punishment. I wyll shewe you befoze, what pertayneth to the consul.

**C** I behelde not longe sence, great furye waltrynge in the weale publyke, and some new myschefes a brewing. But I neuer thought this so great and so mortall a conspiracy to be enterprised of the citisens. Now, what sooner it be, whither soo ever youre myndes and sentences inclyne, it muste be determyned er nyght. You see vnto howe greate a daunger we be brought, wherunto yf ye thynke, a fewe are confederate, you are farre wyde.

This myschiefe is sprawled abrode further than you thynke: for it hath not onely ouerflowen Italy, but is also runne ouer the mountayns Alpes, preyly creppynge forth, hath now munded many prouinces. This thyng in no wyse can be oppressed by sustaynyng and prolongynge therof. What so ever way it pleaseth you to take, you must speedily determynen ther vppon. I se there are two sundrye sentences, one of Syllanus, whose iugement was, that they, whiche were bent on this greate

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mischiefe shulde be put to deth. The other of C. Cesar the whiche dysladyng the punysshment of deth, wolde they shuld suffer all greuous peyne, and tourmente. Eyrther of them, accordyng to his dignitie, and weyght of the cause, with greate grauitie handlyd the matter. The one thought, that they whiche indeuoured theym selfe to see vs all, and the people of Rome, whiche wolde dystrope the empyre, that wolde extincite the name of Romanaynes, were not worthye to lyue the mynute of an houre. And that kynd of punysshmente oftentymes executed vppon suche naughtie citelens in this common weale, remaneth of recorde. The other vnderstandethe that dethe is not ordeyned of the goddis immortal, as a punysshmente, but as necessitie of nature, or els a reste from trauayle and myseries. Therfore wise men neuer grutchted agaynst it, yea oftentymes they wyth a hardy courage, and wyllyngly despyred death. And to lye in yrong perpetually in pryson, is a syngular punysshmente inuented for heynous offences. He wyllethe, that they shulde be seuered into sundry toboones, whiche thinge if he wolde haue comaunded, standeth but lytel with equitie, if he wolde despyre it, it semeth a harde thyng to be done: yet if it please you, let it be so decreed. For I wyl take it vpon me, and I trust to fynde theym, that wyl not thynke it to be agaynst theyr dignitie and honoure, to do that ye shall ordeyne for the wealthe of vs all. He chargeth the toboonsmen with a greate penaltie, if any of them breake pryson, and wold they shuld be surely kepte and hath appoynted peynes mete for suche greuous offenders, and that there shall no man labour, neyther by the senate, nor by the people, to mitigate the punysshmentes that they are condemned to suffre. Also he taketh

keeth away the hope, whiche only is wonte to be a mans comfort in misery: and mozeouer he wylleth theyr goodes to be confiscate. The lyfe onely he leaueth to those wycked offendours, whiche if he wolde haue taken away: with one grieve he shulde haue dispatched them of many tribulations of mynde and bodye, and of all paynes of transgressions. And bycause the y<sup>e</sup>l doers in theyr lyfe shulde stande in some dreede, our forefathers sayd, that suche paynes as be in hell were ordeyned for wycked lyuers, meanyng therby, that yf the feare of suche infernall paynes were taken away, men wolde no whyt be asfayde of deathe.

**C**Howe honorable fathers, I see howe thys thyng toucheth me, yf you shulde folowe Ceasars mynde, bycause he leaueth to the way of the common weale, that is acceptable to the people, peraduenture I shall not nede greatly to feare the furius rage of the people, he being the authoz of this sentence, but if you will folowe the other sentence, I doubt whether it shall turne me to moze busines yea or nay. But yet the profyte of the common weale wayeth moze with me, than all myne owne perylls. We haue also Ceasars mynde and sentence (accozdyng to his honourable estate, and as it becometh a man destred of so noble a linage) as a pledge of his contynuall good wyll to the common weale. And we vnderstande, what dyfference is betwene the myldnes of oratours, and hym that truly loueth the people, and sendzeth theyr welth. I se that some of them, which wolde be sene to fauor the people, be absente, bycause they will not gyue sentence of deathe agaynst the citizens of Rome. This man not thre dayes past, commyt-  
ted towarde Cethegus, and P. Lentulus citelens of



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Rome, and decreed vnto me porcession, and yester day he gaue great rewardes to the detectours of the conspiracy. Nowe there is noo manne that doubteth, what his mynde and iudgemente is concerninge all this busynesse, whiche committed the offendours to warde, that so greatly thanked the Questor, and decreed the detector to be so highly rewarded. But C. Cesar vnderstandeth the lawe Sempromia to be constituted and made for the citsens of Rome: but he that is an enemye to the common welthe, can in noo wyse be a citisyn, and farther the selfe maker of the lawe Sempromie, was by commaundement of the people greuously punyshed. He also demeth Lentulus to be lyberall and not prodygall: and that he, that so sharply, so cruelly imaged, by that meanes he myght destroye this common weale, and confounde this citie, inaye be called a fauourer of the people. And so this moste mylde and courteys man doubteth not to commande, that Lentulus shulde lyue perpetually fettered in darke prision. Also he hath established, that no man hereafter booste hym selfe, that he mytigated his payne, & that no man, offending ageynste the comon weale, be rekned a fauourer of the people. He wylleth furthermoze, theyr goodes shulde be confiscated, that beside all theyr tormentes of mynde and body, they woulde be oppressed wyth nede and pouertye. Wherfore whether ye wyll determin this, ye must cause the people to here me with loue and fauoure: Or if ye wyll rather folowe the sentence of Sillanius, ye shall easylie defende bothe you and me from blame of crueltye. And yet honorable fathers, what crueltye can there be, in punyshyng so greate and so cruell a dede? Cruelly I speake accordyng to my mynde: for so mote I wyth you

you enioye the common weale, as I, that in this cause am ryght behemente, am not moued with anye crueltie of minde. For who is more milder than I: but yet after a certayne singuler humanitie and mercie. For why me thinketh that I see this citie, the lanterne of the hole worlde, and the fortres of defence for all nacions, suddenly burninge fall in desolacion. I see in my minde oure countreie cleane destroyed, and the miserable heapes of cityzens lye vnburied. The furious loke of Cethegus frantike madde in the slaughter of you, is neuer oute of my syghte. When I call to remembraunce Lentulus, reyninge lyke a kynge, lyke as he confessed to haue seene him selfe by predestinacion: Gabinius arrayed in a purple weede: and Catiline come with his armie: O howe I than abhorre to see the lamentacion of the honeste wiues, the flyghte of yonge maides and childrene, and the trouble of the virginnes Vestalles. And because these thinges seme to me vehementely miserable and to be pitied: therfore I shew my selfe sharp and behemente againste those, that wolde haue performed them. I aske you, whether that householder which dothe moste sharpely and greuousely punishe his seruante that slepyth his childrene, killeth his wife, and burneth his house, is to bee counted milde and mercifull, or els fierce and cruell: I iudge him importunate and of an yron courage, that wolde not asswage his sorowe with the turmenting of suche a seruant: In like maner we shall be rekened mercifull, if wee shewe oure selues moste sharpe and behemente againste those that wolde murder vs, oure wiues, our children, that with all their iudeuour go aboute to destroye euerie mannes house, and this vniuersall common weale, whiche haue  
done

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doone their beste to haue stablyshed the nacion of Delphinois in the steppes of thys cite, and in the asshes of thys empiere, distroied wyth fire : but if wee wyll be seene to be remisse and negligente, we shal be vtterly defamed of crueltie, for sufferynge our countrey and citizens to be distroyed. Excepte any man wyll thynke L. Caesar that noble and valyant man, and that mooste derely loueth this common weale, was the other day very cruel, what he sayd, that his sisters husband, that most honorable lady, beinge present, and heryng hym, was worthy to dye. Whan he sayd, Flaccus was slayn by the consuls comandement : and his sonne, not .xiiii. yere of age, bounde and cast into pryson to be slayne. Was any of theyr dedes lyke this : What counsaile toke they to destroy the common weale : Largesse was than vsed in the comon weale, to come to honour, and some contencion and part takynge. And euen at that tyme this Letulus grandfather, that most noble man being armed, pursued Gracch<sup>9</sup>, & was thā sore wounded, to the ende the hygh dignitie of the comon weale shulde nothyng be blemysed. This Lentulus hath styrred vp the frenchemen to tourne vpset downe this common weale : he hath reysed slaues and bondemen, he hath callyd for the Catiline, he hath allotted vs to Cethegus, the other citizens to bee slayne by Gabinius, the cite to be burned by Cassius, all Italy to be wasted and spoyled by Catilene. I deeme, you dreede lest that in this so cruell and cursed a deede, ye shulde be seene to determine any thinge ouer sharpe and rigorous : Whan it is muche more to be feared, lest by negligence of punysshement, we shal seme rather cruell to our countrey, than by sharpenes of punysshement ouer behemente agaynste



gainst our mooste cruell ennemies.

**B**ut honorable fathers, I can nat dissemble, that I haue herd spoken. For wordes ar blowē abzode, whiche are come to my hearyng, of them, that seme to feare, lest I shal not be stronge inough to execute those thinges, that ye shall this day determyne to be done. All thynges prudent fathers, ar foresene, prepared, and in a redynesse by my no lyttell care and dilygence, but moche more by the good courage that the commynaltie hathe to maynteyne and defende this most highe empyre, and theyr owne goodes. They be all, of euery state and degree, and of euery age, bent here vppon. The market place is full, soo be all the wayes and passages to this place and temple. This cause, sith the buyldinge of the citie, is founde to be alone, in the whiche al agrees on one selfe thinge: excepte those whiche, seynge they muste nedes ende theyr wretched life, they had rather dy with all other, than perythe alone. Those men I except, and gladly seuer them from vs. For I accompt not theym amonge the numbre of honest citelins, but from henseforth to be taken for our mooste cruell ennemies. But good forde, with howe greate multitude, with what fauour and affection, with what wood harte and courage do all other consent and agree to the dignite and welthe of vs all: Wherto shoulde I here reherse the gentyll men of Rome, whiche so gyueth place to you in degree and consultation, that they wylle contende wyth vs in loue of the common weale: the whiche this daye and this cause hathe retired from longe dissentyon and debate, had with this order, and knytte you faste frendes togyther: whiche knote of frendshype confyrmed in my consuls shyppe, if we continually kepe in the common

S.i. weale,

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weale, I assure you after this no ciuile harme amonge our selfe, shall endomage the coumon weale on noo syde. Wyth lyke fauour to defende the common weale, I see the treasourers, (men toofte hardy and valyante) assemble theym selues together. Also all the notaries and scribes, whiche in great numbze chaunce this daye hath bzoughte to the treasoure house, I perceyue they, lokyng to what ende this busines wyll come, ar fully bent on the common welth. Here is also the holle multitude of the meane sorte of freemen. For who is he, to whome those temples, the aspercte of this citie, the possession of libertie, and fynally this lyghte, and this oure natieue countrey, is not dere, swete, and pleasante. It is a ioyfull thyng honorable fathers, to see the fauoure and affection of the lybertines, whiche chauncynge to enioye the franchises of this citie, accompte it to be theyz owne countree: whiche cytie some that be here borne, and comme of noble lynage, iudge not theyz countrey, but take it as a towne of theyz enemyes. But whereto shall I recyte vnto you those men and degrees, whome theyz owne priuate comoditie, the common profite, freedom and lybertie, of all thinges the moste sweetest, hath a waked and styzed to defende the welthe of theyz countrey. There is no slaue, whose seruile condition is anye thyng tollerable, whiche dothe not vitterly abhoze the saucy and malapert boldnes of our citisens, that wolde not haue the brydled, that doth not, as moche as he dare and as muche as he can, applye his good wyll for the comon weale: Wherfore if haplye any of you be moued with this, that a rumoure is blowen abrode, that a certayne ruffyan, longing to Lentulus runneth about fro shope to shope, hoppyng with mede to stee and reyse by routes

routes of such as be neddy and ignozant what thinges  
meane: Surely this was begunne and attempted: but  
yet there was none founde so pooze nor so wretched but  
that wylleth and desyzeth, that his shoppe and place,  
where he getteth his lyuinge, his chambze for his bed,  
and the quiet course of his lyfe, myght be in safegarde.  
And the moste parte of those, that lyue by theyr handye  
crafte, yea I shulde say, this vniuersall kynde of people,  
do loue to lyue in quiete and reste. For all theyr instru-  
mentes, theyr workes and wynnings are maynteyned  
by concurse and resorte of the people, & nourished wyth  
peace and concorde, whose gaynes and wynnynge, yf  
by shuttynge in of theyr shoppes, is wonte to be my-  
nyshed, what shall they gette, whan they be bourned.

These thynges beyng thus, honourable fathers, you  
canne lacke noo helpe to defende the common weale:  
Take ye good hede, that ye fayle not the common welth  
you haue the Consull, escaped frome manye perylles  
and disceytes, and frome the very poynte of death, not  
onely for his owne lyfe, but for poure welthe reserued:  
all states and degrees with one mynde, one wylle, one  
fauour, oone force, wyth oone voyce, contente to saue  
and defende the commune weale. Thys oure coun-  
trei besette aboute wyth fyre bzondes and weapons of  
this wycked conspyracie, mekelye holdeth vp her han-  
des to you. To you she commendeth the lyfe of all her  
cytesyns, the castell and Capytoll, the aulteres and y-  
mages, the perpetuall bournynge fyre of the god-  
des Uesta, the Temples and Chapelles of the goddis,  
the walles and buyldynge of the Cytie.

Furthermoze, you muste this daye geue a Iugemente,  
concerning your owne lyfe, your wyues and childrens



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lyues, and that toucheth all youre goodes, possessions and howses. Ye haue a capytatne myndefull of you, and forgetfull of hym selfe, whiche abilitie is not alway gyuen, that a man forgettynge hym selfe, shulde be myndefull of other. Ye haue all estates and degrees all men, the holle publyque weale, it that in a cruylle cause, we shall this daye fyrste see, agreynge all as one. Calle to mynde, that one nyght shall vtterly confounde and brynge to nought, this mynne, founded wyth so great labours, our lybertie stablyshed wyth so greatte pꝛowesse, our goodes so greatly incresed and augmented by the benignitie of the goddis. You must this daye so pꝛouyde, that neuer hereafter this thyng be not onlye done, but that noo manne ymagine to doo suche a dede: And those thynges I haue not spoken to encourage you, whiche in fauoure and good zeale, farre passe me, but to the ende, that my voyce, which oughte to be chiefe in the common weale, shuld be sene to supplie the duety of a consull. Nowe befoze that I retorne to the sentēce, I wyll some what speake of my selfe.

¶ We thynketh I haue gote as greate a multitude of enemyes, as there is in nymbꝛe of conspiratours, whiche ye se is very great, but this greate route I iuge to be shamefull, weake, not to be regarded, and verye abiectes. But yf hereafter this multitude, pꝛouoked by any mannes furze or myschiefe, doth moze pꝛeuayle than yours, and the common welthes dignitie: yet honozable fathers, I wyll neuer repente me of those dedes that I haue done, or of the counceils that I haue gyuen. For deathe, wherwith perchance, they thzeten me, no man can escape. Moze greater prayse than ye haue gyuen me in my lyfe, by your decrees neuer man  
obtey=

obteyned. For alwaye vnto other, for well gouernynge of the common weale, but vnto me for the conseruation therof, ye haue decreed ryght hygh thanks.

**L**et the noble Scipio haue his renomme, by whose counsell, prowes and polycy, Hanniball was constrayned to retourne into Aphrike, and to departe out of Italy. Let Aphricanus be adourned wyth moste hyghe laude, whiche destroyed two greate cities, Carthage, and Numantia moste greuous ennies to this impire. Let hym, L. Paulus be counted for a mā most excellent whose chariot, Perses sometyme a kynge most myghty and most noble dyd greatly honoz. Let Marius haue eternall glozy, whiche twyse deliuered Italy frome inuasion and drede of seruitude and thraldome. Let Pompeius be preferred aboue all other, whose conquestes and knightly actes ar known through all the worlde. And surely among the honourable renoume and prayses of these men, our glozy must take some place, excepte peraduenture it be a greater feate to conquere to vs prouinces, by whiche we myghte haue passage than it is warely to proude, that they that are absente, maye haue a place, whither as conquerors they maye retorne agayne. Not withstandynge the state of outwarde byctorye is in one thyng better, thā the domesticall bycause straunge enemyes subdued, do eyther serue vs, or receyued as frendes, do thynke them selfe bounde vnto vs. But yf any of our cytelyns, throughe some madnesse warynge leuode and nought, begyne ones to be enemyes to theyr countrey, whan we go aboute to wpythstande, that they endamage not the common weale, we can neither by violence restrayne theym, nor wpyth benefittes pacify them. Wherfore I see welle, I haue entred into

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continual warre with these hope lost citesyns, the whiche I trust thzough the ayde of you and all suche other as ar good and vertuous, remembzng so greate perils of the which not only we, that ar reserued and kepte, but all nations shall speke and beare in mind easily to repel from me & myne. For assuredly there can not be founde so great force & violence, that can breake & quayle your vntie and the gentilmen of Rome, and so great consent and agremente of all good men. Seinge honorable fathers, y these things ar thus, for myn impire, for myne army, for my prouynce, whiche I neglected, for my triumph, and other notable thinges of laude and preyse, whiche for your cities sake and safegarde of youre welthes, I for sake, for my clientes, for the men of my prouynce, for the right of hospitalite: for all these thynges, and for my singulare fauoure and affection to youe, for that diligence whiche you see in me to pzeserue the weale publike, I aske nothinge elles of you, but the remembrace of my Consuls shyp all this tyme. Whiche being fast fixed in your myndes, I iudge my selfe surely fenced about with a walle moste stronge. But if my hope be disappointed and quayled by the power of the lewde and naughty, I comende to you my littell sonne: to whome surelye it shalbe a sufficiente garrison of defence, not onely for his sauegarde, but also for his high aduancement if ye wille vouchesafe to remembre him to be his sonne, whiche with his perill alone pzeserued all these thinges. Wherfore mooste prudente fathers, ordeyne and prouide diligently and boldely: as ye beganne, for your obone wealth: poure wyues and children: for your aultars and ozatozies: for poure Chappelles and temples: for the buyldynges and sytuaci-  
ons



ings of all this citie, for this empire, for your libertye, for the welth of Italye, and for the vniuersall weale publyke. For ye haue a consull, that doubteth not to obeye your decrees, and as longe as lyfe is in hym, and to the vttermoste of his power, to defend those ordynaunces that ye shall decree.

When the Consull had ended his oration, turnynge hym to Marcus Cato, whome he knewe loued his countrey moste entierly, of a stoute stomake, a prudente counsayllour, and excedynge constauante, desyred hym to save his mynde. Then. M. Cato rose vp, and spake in thys manner:

The oration of M. Cato taken out of Shustre. Capitulo. xlii.



When I consider, honorable fathers, our busynesse, and the greate daunger that we stand in, when I ofte thinke on some mens sentences: my mynde is farre frome theyr oppinion. They seeme to me to haue reasoned, what paynes they shulde suffer, that haue prepared to make warre against theyr countrey, theyr parentes, the aulter and oratozies. But the matter warneth vs rather to take hede & beware of them, than to consulte, what we shulde decree againste them. Other mysdedes may be punished after they be done: but yf it be not looked well to, that this euell dede be not done, it wyl be to late to execute iustyce. The cyte being got, the subdued can nothynge doo. But I requyre you by the goddis immortall saye the trouth, that you haue more esteemed your houses in the citie, & manors in the countrey, your grauen images & peynted tables, than the comon weale, yf ye

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pf ye wpll retayne styll these, suche as they be, delectations, that you so derely loue, pf ye woll haue tyme and space to vse your pleasures: at the laste awake, and embrace the common weale. For nowe the reasonyng is not of our tributes, nor of the wronges doone to oure confederates. Our lybertie and lyfe is in daunger. I haue very often honozable fathers, spoken many thynges amonge you here, I haue ofte complayned of the excesse and auarice of oure citelins: And for that cause I haue many men agaynste me. For I that neuer forgau my selfe any offence, coulde not lyghtely forgyue other mens mysdedes. And though ye lyttell regarded my wordes, yet was the weale publyke in good case, for the welthynges thereof supported your neglygence. But nowe it is not in debatynge, after what maners, good or badde we shulde lyue, or how great or how magnificent the Romaine empire shulde be: but whether these thynges, howe so euer they be shalbe ours alone, or enioyed together with vs of our enemies. Wpll anye man in this matter ones name mydenesse, and mercy? Surely we haue of late losse the true names of thynges. For to gyue awaye othermens goodes is callyd Liberalyte. Boldenesse to do yuell dedes is called fortitude, therfore the weale publyke is at the last cast. Let them for me, seing the maner and falcion is so, be lyberrall of other mens goodes, let them be mercyfull to stealers of the common treasure: so that they gyue not to them our bloude, and sparynge a fewe lewde & naught, they vndo all that be good and honest. C. Cesar while eare reasoned well and substancially before you of lyfe and deathe, supposynge I beleue, that those thynges be false, whiche are reported of hel, that the yuell doers  
are

are sondred a way from the good, dwellynge in places obscure, vile, stynkyng, vncleane, & fearefull. And so he iudged, that they goodes shuld be forsayted, and they them selues to be kept in warde in dyuers townes, fearing this, lest if they were styll in Rome, they shoulde by stronge hande bee set againe at lybertie, eyther by the fauozers of the conspiracie, or elles by the multitude of hopelostes hired ther vnto: As though naughty and vngacious persons were only in Rome, & not throug out all Italy: or as though braynsicke boldnes coude not more preuaile ther, where as is lesse power to make defence. Wherfore this counsayle is surely of none effecte, if he stande in drede of them: but if he alone in so great feare to all men, is not afrayde: so moche the more it behoueth me to be fearefull bothe for my selfe and you. Therfore whan ye gyue iudgement agaynste M. Lentulus and other that be taken: know for a suretie, that ye gyue iudgement agaynst Catiline, his army, and all the conspiratours. And the more diligence ye vse in this matter, the lesse courage shall they haue. If they may perceyue, that you war saynt harted: they all full fierce wyll soone be here. Thynke not, that our forefathers haue of a very lyttel, made a great comon weale by feates of armes: if it so were, we shuld haue it farre more goodly. For our abundance of confederate frendes, citelyns, armour, and hozes, is greater than euer our auncetours had. But there were other thynges that made them mighty, whiche we want: At home they were studious and dilygente, in theyr deallynge with strangers, iuste and trewe, in consultation theyr myndes were free from all affections, they neglected not theyr duetie, nor inclyned to bodilye luste. In



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Stede of these vertues we haue prodigall expence and couetousnes, the cominaltie pooze, and many priuatly ryche and welthy: We pryse ryches, and folowe sleuth and ydelnesse. There is no difference betwene the good men and the badde: Ambition hath al the rewarde of vertue. And no meruell, syth eche of you seketh for his owne priuate comodite: syth ye at home giue your selves to volupties and pleasures, and here in the senate study howe to wyinne money and frendshyp. Wherby the weale publyke, voyde, exhauste, and deserte, is inuaded. But I let passe these matters. Noble cytelings haue conspired to burne theyr countrey, they haue stirred vp the frenchemen, mooste greuous ennemyes to Romaines, vnto warre. The capitayn Catilene with his army is in our neckes. Ye make delaye, yea in soo weyghthy a busynes, and stand in doubt, what ye shuld do with our ennies taken within the walles. I thynke good, ye take pitie on them, they beinge yongemenne through ambition haue done amisse, gyue them leaue, yea beinge armed, to departe away. I feare, lest this mildenes and mercy, if they begyn to arme them, wyll turne vs to great misery. It is eth to know, howe sharp and greuous a conspiracy is, but ye feare it not, yes y-ways do you, and that very sooze, but throughe negligence & faynt courage ye dzyue forth the tyme, one lo-kyng what an other wyl do, as it were trustynge to the goodis immortal, which ful oft haue saued this weale publike, in most greatest peryls. The aide and helpe of the goddis is not gotten with boboes and womanlye prayers: but by watchfull diligence, well doing & good counsailynge, all thinges done prospere. Whan a man gyueth hym self to sluggishnes and discourage, he shal  
call

call vpon the goddis in vaine: for they be displeased and greued with suche one. In olde tyme in the warres of France, A. Manlius Torquatus, comanded his owne sone to be put to deth, bycause he fought with his enemy contrary to his imperial comandement. And so he y noble yong mā, full derely bought with deth his exceeding māly enterpryse, & ye stand musinge what you shulde determine against most cruel traitors to their countrey. Verily their good liuing in tymes past lettith this mischeuous dede to be punished. But spare you Lentulus dignitie, if he euer spared to lyue filthily, if he euer cared for hys good name and fame, if he euer regarded god or man. Forgiue Cethegus youth, if this be not the second tyme that he maketh warre against his countrey. For what shulde I speake of Gabinius, Statilius Ceparys: yf they had bene men of any consideration, they wolde neuer haue take suche coucellinges against the comon weale. Finally, if this offence, honorable fathers were not intollerable, so god help me, I could be content ye were punished by this euell chaunce, bycause ye regard not good monition: but we are beset rounde about, Catiline wyth his army standeth gaping to deuoure Italy, other our enemies ar within the walles, in the very harte of the citie, neither can we make any prouision or take conceall secretly: Wherefore it behoueth vs to vse the more celeritie and speede. Therfore my mynd is, seinge the comon weale, through the cursed counsell of mischiefull cytesyns, is brought into so great daunger, and seinge they by the detection of Vulturcius, and the frenche ambassabours are conuycted, and haue confessed, that they intended to murdere and burne, and to doo other cursed and cruel dedes to theyr owne citisins and countrey,

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that suche as haue a knowleged theyr treason, we shulde after the maner of our forefathers, put to death.

The contention of C. Cesar, and M. Cato in the Senate, and of the loue letters sent to Cesar, Cap. xliii.



W H A N Cato was set downe, well nere all the Senatours, one calling an other fearfull, approued his sentence, they most hyghly extollyd his valyante courage, hys constancy and manly harte. Fynally they decreed accorดยnge to Catos sentence. But Cesar for all that styll wythstode it, so longe vntyll a greate bande of the gentylmen of Rome, whiche all armed stode aboute the temple of Concozde, for safegarde and defence of the Senate, came with theyr swozdes drawen to haue slayne hym, eyther bicause they beleued he was confederate with the cōspiratozys, for that he wolde not haue them put to deathe: or els being moued wyth the peryll that the weale publyke was in. Than Curio, as it is sayde imbracyng hym, and castyng his gowne betwene them, defended hym. Farthermoze Cicero with sharpe rebukes, feared them from sleynge of Cesar. It is also sayd, that while Cesar and Cato were in contention for the punyshment of the offenders, there chanced a thyng not very honest to be tolde.

Seruilia Catos syster soze wounded wyth the loue of Cesar, delyuered certayne letters, loupngly wrytten, to an vndiscrete man, to beare vnto hym: whiche whan he came to Cezars house, and was informd by the porter, that Cesar was in the senate, streyghte waye this rude felowe came into the Senate, and delyuered the letters to Cesar. Whiche whan Cato sawe, he began to  
saye



ay with a lowde voyce, these are the conspiratours letters, and wold in any wyse that they shulde be openly redde. Than Cesar dzedynge lest they shulde be openly redde, toke theym vnto Cato. Whyche whan Cato had red, he threwe them agayne to Cesar, and in the Senate called hym Drunkarde, that naturally was verye sobre. This is the proprietye of loue and suche delectations, that oftentymes they cause a man most noble to fyle hym selfe with some blotte of fylthynes or shame.

**C** A. Uertius accuseth C. Cesar as culpable of the conspiracye, Cesar clerely and reuengeth hym selfe. Cap. xliiii.

**B** U T S O N E after happened a thyng that moze troubled Cesars mynde. For A. Uertius accused hym before Noui<sup>9</sup> the Questor, as culpable of the conspiracy, and. Q, Curius broughte hym in greate hatred, bycause he named hym in the Senate a parte taker with the conspiratours. Uertius promysed to brynge forth Catilys owne handewrytyng: Curius sayde, he knewe it by Catilys, Cesar takyng greuously, that he shulde be spotted wyth soo shamefull a blotte came into the Senate to purge hym selfe. But the Senate syttyng longer than was accustomed, an excedynge multitude of the common people, ranne thither in greate haste. For the troublous people, which demed that the Senate wolde decre some greuous thyng agaynst Cesar, inflamed wyth his loue and sturred with his peryll, beganne to make a greate shout, and seditiously required the Senate to let Cesar go. M. Cato, to withdrawe from Cesar all occasion of sedition, perswaded the Senate to diuylde amonge  
the

the comon people of Rome, greate quantitie of wheate, by whiche liberalitie, the hartis, of the pooze cominaltie were meruelously reconciled to Cato and the Senate.

For the comons hate nigardes, they fauoure the plenty, full and liberall, they loue largesse, they are ledde wpyth great feastes, moued with plays, and bowed with gyftes. And with giftes mens myndes are blynded.

After this, Cesar made an oration, in whiche oration he declared, not only that he was none of the conspira-  
tours, but also that he had opened to the consull certaine thinges of the cōsperacy. And whā he had lamentablye deposed Cicero to wytnesse the same, Cicero clered hym from all suspition. Thus dyd the consull, either bicause he knew nothing certainly to charge Cesar with, or els bicause he thought it best to wynte at the matter. For though Cesar and Crassus myght both haue bene manifestly conuicted, yet coude they not haue bene puny-  
shed, seynge the tone of theim was surely fenced wpyth excedynge greatte rycheesse, the tother with fauour of the people.

But afterwarde Cesar behemently inuehed ageinste L. Vectius, whan he hadde in his oration tozne hym with most sharpe wordes, spoylinge hym of his house-  
holde stouffe, and taking pledges and sureties he greuouely punyshed hym: and he caste Flouius the Que-  
stor in prizon, bycause he suffred the Pretor aboue hym in auttoritie to plede before hym. For the higher offy-  
cers maye not be cominaunded of theyr inferiours or equalles. Cesar not beinge content herewpyth broughte to passe, that to Curius shoulde not be gyuen the re-  
wardes, whiche vnto hym bycause he fyrste detected the conspyzacye, were decreed in mooste ample wyse.

But

But to retourne agayne where I leste, whan I nedefully speake of Caesar.

The execution dont on Lentulus and his felowes. Cap. xlv.

**I**T was than the fiste daye of December, and drewe towarde euenynge, after longe consultacion had in the Senate, at lengthe they decreed, as is aforesaide, accordinge to Catos sentence, that execution shoulde be doone on them that were founde gyltie. Wherefore the consul thought best, to prevent the night that was at hande, lest in the meane space, some mischefull and cursed parte myght be plaide by those that thoughte by force and violence to deliuer and set them at large. Oute of the senate house he came accompanied with all the Senatoures, the knyghtes of Rome, and the yonge men of noble bloudde armed. And from thence he wente to their house that hadde the custodye of them that were caste. Fyyste he brought Lentulus, that was in the keepynge of Lentulus Spynther, from the Palayce, by the waye callyd Sacra via, and throughe the myddes of the markette place, vnto the prysone, and deliuered hym to the executioner, commaundynge, that he forthwith shoulde strangle hym with an halter. But to the ende there shoulde be noo sedytion, the Consulle sette the foresayde knyghtes of Rome, with theyr tergates and swerdes drawn, in the pytche of the hyll Capytolyne. The same execution was done on Statilius, Cethegus, Gabinius, and Ceparius. For they beynge brought to the prysone by the Detours, were all strangled. After they were all putte to deathe, the Consull to debylitate and cutte



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cutte asunder theyr endeuoir and hope, whiche prepared in the nyght to do some feate, tourned aboute to the multitude, and sayde wyth a loud voyce, that all myght here hym, They were alyue, sygnifieng by that lyghte sayeng, they were dead. When he had said these wordes nyght was come.

¶ After the conspiratours were deade, the people wyth greate glory brought Cicero home to his house. Cap. cxi.



Then the cōsul takyng his way homeward was accompanied with a meruaylous multitude of the people, most ioyfully thanking hym, what waye soeuer he wente, through all the stretes of the cite laumpes, lynkes torches, and cressettes, burned byghte, the wyndowes and doores were all full of men and women: they called Cicero, the defender of the cite, the preseruer of theyr lybertye, the father of the countrey, that they were citizens, that they were fre, that they lyued was all through his wysedome, policie, and diligence. This greate company and pompe honoured hym home to his house. I omitte here the great ioye and gladnes that was made afterwarde through all Italy, I passe ouer the moste excellent and moste honorable preyses of other good townes and cities. I speake not of the greate thanks that all good men than gaue vnto, M. Tullius, L. Flaccus, and C. Plautius. ¶ In the meane whyle Cicero commaunded M. Sestius, countremanded by letters from Capua, with the army that he then had wyth hym, and with all speede to haste hym after Antonius. These thynges done, the cite, whiche befoze trembled for dzed, was now delyuered from feare, & the remnant of

of the conspiracy, that was so hotte and hastye, begane to waxe colde and slowe. And Cicero in hys gowne got an exceeding and an immortall gloze, foldyd bp in the enuie and yuell wyllle of many men. For all the yonge men, gyuen to bodilie lust and wantonnesse, and al such as were dishonest and naughte he made his foes. The whiche dyd hate Cicero not onely by cause he repressed thyrz horryble violence and cursed enterpryses, but also bycause they thought as longe as he lyued, they shulde neuer byrynge suche a thinge to passe ageyne. And so be- ry many amonge the whiche was alsoo. C. Cesar, but namely. L. Bestia, and M. Metellus Nepos, beganne to reprehende, tolle, and detracte the actes & dedes that Cicero had done.

Ciceros othe in the ende of his consullshyp. Cap. xlvj.



Herfore whan Cicero the laste daye of Decembre, leauyng bp his consullshype wolde as the maner was, haue declared in an oration, what actes he had doone in hys of- fyce. M. Metellus protectour of the commi- naltie, forbode and wolde not suffer hym to speake, say- eng, It was ryght vnseemely, to gyue hym leue to speke, that had done punichement on other, the cause not herde or knownen. Whiche thinge was to Cicero moze honora- ble thā if he had suffered hym to make his oration. For whā Metellus permytted, that he shuld onely make an othe, Cicero sware, that by his labour and diligence a- lone, the weale publike and the citie was saued. Whi- che othe so large and so greate, all the people of Rome with one voyce and one consente sware, that he hadde swozne trewely.

U. i.

The

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The contention betwene Cicero & M. Metellus Regor. Ca. xlviii.

**T**his his glozy, the peple of Rome did augment with an other glozy. For the self same daye, the people in moste honorable wyse, with greatest ioy and gladnes, & as thyeck as they coulde go in the stretes, broughte hym from the market place home to his house. But yet the fyrst day of Januarie he with so manly a courage spake of the comon weale, that enery man myght well perceyue, that the actes which he dyd in his consulship were done by his wysedome, prudence, and policy, and not by chaunce. And M. Metellus disputing with him of the comon weale, he quayled in the Senate with an oration all full of grauitie: and Cicero boldly shewed hym, that he shuld haue to do with a man that wāteth no stomake, or that is to seke in any thyng that he shal say. Wherby his aduersaries were the more kendlid agaynst hym: bycause they sawe him chief in the senate, they fled al to the comons. Than Metellus, associate & ayded with C. Cesar, desired of the people that Pompeius with his army, myght be countermanded home, to subdue Catiline: and to comit the comon weale vnto him, that he shuld se that it toke none harm. Their wordes were, that Pompeius shuld be countremaded home to subdue Catilin: but in very dede theyr pretense was, that the comon weale shuld come to the rule and gouernance of Pompei: and by that mean the auctoritie consular of M. Tullius, and the power of the Senators myghte be fordoone: and in processe the glozye of soo great a man, for preseruing of the comon weale, might be dymynyshed.

M. Cato



**W**han this cursed publication was spoken in the senate. M. Cato rose vp, & wyth many wordes desired Metellus for his constancy, trouthe & honorable estate, to desyste from that purpose: beseechynge hym for his dead fathers sake, for that Metellus Numidius sake, the whiche wolde rather be dryuen oute of the citie, than to be forsworne: and for all the Metellus those most noble citisens sakes, whiche alway withstode seditious persones, whiche euermore in all thynges followed the auctoritie of the senate, and consente of good men. And he declared that it neded not, that Pompeius shoulde be countermaunded home with his armye. For soo moche as C. Antonius hadde a greatte hoste, and M. Metellus Celer, his brother hadde prepared a strong power agaynst Catiline. And theyr enemyes at home being subdewed (of whome was moste nede to beware) the conspyracy was soo enfebled and weakened, that the common weale coulde not be hurt, or indamaged by the unpfortunate sworder Catilene.

¶ The contention of Cato and Metellus, Cap. i.

**W**hen the equite of his oration, nor the authoritie of M. Cato coulde moue Metellus, and whanne the other Senatoures neyther by intreating nor monishing could incline him, but that he thretenyd to doo all thynges by force of armes: Cato esteemoones tournynge his tale, shamefully rebuked hym, and wyth an oration

U. ii.

all

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all full of grauitie, with commendation and approbation of the hole Senate, he accused hym as gyltie, and finally he said, he wold neuer while he lyued suffre, that Pompeus with his armye shulde retourne home to the citie. But whan the daye of Rogation was come, and that Metellus and Cesar being Pretor, had the nyghte before furnyshed the temple of Castor with men of armes, good men beganne greatly to mystruste, lest the law shuld passe. For armed men kepte the market place and other places of assemblies. And the common people of the citie, alway desyrous to se nouelties, fauored Metellus in publyshinge the lawe. And therfore verie manye counselled Cato to beware and take good hede to him selfe. But he beinge ennewed wyth an incredible and straunge manlynesse of stomake, grauytie, and fortitude, which (thought hym selfe bozne for his countreys sake, and not for his owne) wolde rather put hym selfe in ioperdy, than not to succoure the common weale being at the poynte to perishe. And so earlye in the morning, not only without any power & strengthe of men, but also with a fewe of his frendes, he descended into the market place, all men so fearinge that he shulde not escape with his lyfe, that the teares ranne downe the chekes of some of Catos nere frendes. And nether the continuallye weepynge of his wyfe, nor the mourninge garmentes, nor the teares of his sisters, and incredible sorowe and heuines of his frendes, coulde kepe hym at home. So than Cato beyng allonely accompanied with Munatius Thermus, hys felowe in office (for all other that came with hym were put backe by those that kepte the entrie of the temple) came into the temple Metellus satte in the place, where matters were

were publyshed or declared to the people, and nexte to Metellus Cesar: than Cato interrupte theyr comunication, sat hym downe in the myddes betwene theym bothe, many beinge therof excedinge ioyfull, and muche wondering at his most manly mynde. Catos dede was than very notable, & his felowes Thermus acte ryghte noble. For Cato prohibitynge Metellus secretarpe to rede the rogation: Metellus hym selfe taking it in hys owne handes began to rede. But Cato by and by toke the lawe out of his handes. And whan Metellus wold haue recited the lawe wythout wrytinge (for he coulde it by hart) Thermus laying his hand vpon his mouthe wolde not suffer hym to speke. Metellus takynge this greuoussly, and a token beinge giuen, his swordes made a greate shoute, and beganne to make an assaute: With this todayne fraye, all the multitude of people greatly complayninge, boyded oute of the markere place. Cato throuen out of the publication place, and wel nere lefte a lone in the market, styll fyghtyng and stryuinge wyth his voyce and crienge, and manpe seekinge to see hym with stones and other weapons, was by the ayde of L. Murena the consull saued. Than Metellus thynkyng that he had ouercome Cato, commaunded theym that were harneysed to auoyde, and turnynge agayne to the place of publication beganne to declare the lawe. But they that befoze were fledde awaye, chaungynge theyr myndes came agayne and with greate clamoure, hyle wordes and murmuratioun cried out on Metellus, and with ioyfull countenaunce fauoured Cato retournynge agayne to the place. Wherfoze Metellus beyng soore troubled and abashed, he and his departed oute of the market place. But Cato after he had in a longe oration



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prelled the greate loue and zeale that the people of Rome bare him, and had exorted them to resyst the laboe, that pretended so muche the destrurction of the comon weale, and sturryinge bp of a ciuile warre, with meruaylouse reioysynge of the people, and with greate glozve gatte hym home.

¶ M. Metellus and C. Cesar are remoued from theyr  
offices. Capitulo .ii.



After whan they had longe debated in the Senate house touchynge the skyzmyllthe that Metellus menne of armes made, of the castinge of stones, and of the feare and flyghte of good menne, and that men hadde sharply spoken against Cesar, and reprochfully rebuked Metellus: the senate decreed, that Metellus shuld leaue bp his trybunesshype, and Cesar his pretozshyp, and bothe shuld absteyne from ministracion of the comon weale. For the Senate beinge contente with this maner pnyshement, and purposynge to put Metellus to open shame, M. Cato wolde in no wyse agree thereto & dissuaded the senate that they shulde not do it. Than was his mekenes preyled of the people of Rome, and his counsaile allowed, bycause those thynges whiche he dyd, and whiche he toke vppon him, he dyd them not for the hatred, that he bare to any man, but for the loue that he had to the comon weale.

So Metellus beinge depriued frome ministracion of the comon weale, and forsaken of the people: he purposed to take his iourney into Asia, as thoughe he wolde go and informe Pompeius of all these matters. But ere he wente he made certayne oracions, in the whiche

the he spake very reprochefully agaynst the Senate, he sayde: He coulde not suffere Cicero to reygne lyke a kynge, nor the tyranny of Cato: and that the tyme shuld come, that the people of Rome shulde soze repente them that they had done so many iniuries to the mooste noble man Pompeius. But afterwarde Pompeius was not onely contented and pleased with Cato, and M. Tullius, but also gaue eche of them hyghe thanks. yea (as Cicero in secunda Philippica, and .i. lib. officiorū sayeth) as sone as Pompeius departynge out of Syria, sawe Cicero imbracyng and thankynge hym, saye in the presence of many that were by: He shoulde in bayne haue gotten his thyzde triumphe, if that throughe Ciceros benefyte to the common weale, he had not hadde a place to tryumphe in. And afterwarde it is sayde he, shoulde saye in a certayne oration that the cōmon weale oughte of ryght to gyue great thanks to the tobone Arppnas, for frome thens came two defenders, C. Marius, and M. Cicero, of the whiche two, the one deliuered the common weale frome domesticall peryll, and the other from outward daunger.

Cesar with commendation is restorred to his office.  
Capitulo. lvi.



Ad notoe I wyl retorne ageyne to Cesar, which contempning the most graue decree of the Senate, and contynuing styll in his offyce, the Senate gaue in commaundemēt to certayne, to prohybite him parfoze. Thā Cesar changinge his apparell, and layeng away the ornaments of pretozship, heuily shutte hym selfe in hys house,

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house, grynge place to tyme. Upon a two days after  
whan this thing was knowen, an huge multitude ga-  
thered vnto Cesar, and seditiously offered their ende-  
uour, to restore hym a gayne to his dignitie. Cesar prei-  
syng and approuyng their louyng affection, with an  
oration, wherin he was greatly renoumed) appeased  
the comons, that were exceedingly amoued a gaynst the  
Senatours. Whiche Modestie or temperance so moch  
pleased the senate (whose intention was alway either  
with drede or with peyne to feare men from leude and  
naughtye attemptes, or with rewardes, to allure  
men to good dedes) that by the chiefest of the citie they  
gaue hygh thanks vnto Cesar, and callynge hym to  
the court, and restorynge hym to his pretorshyp, they  
magnified hym with most ample preyses.

¶ Catilines armye, hys laboures, and iourney towarde  
Fraunce. Capitulo. liii.

**P**urposynge to speake manye thynges, Ca-  
tiline, from whome we are nowe farre di-  
gessed, calleth me backe againe to hym.  
Whiche whyle those thynges were gested  
and donne at Rome, hadde nowe (as some  
reporthe) gathered together aboute twen-  
ty thousande men. But I suppose he had assembled to-  
gether a greater nymbre of cruell caytyues. But of  
all these there was not paste the fourthe parte arrayed  
and instructed lyke men of warre, the other hadde not  
armour warrellyke, but suche as men vse to beare, ior-  
neyinge by the waye

¶ With this multitude he Catilne iournayed vpon  
the sharpe mountaynes: oftentymes he remoued his,  
army,



army, and the same moſte ſtrongely dyd fortifye aboute with a trenche and a bulwarke: ſometyme he made towarde the citie, ſometyme towarde Fraunce: nowe he beſegeth the mountayns, whithin a while after he paſſeth the ouer thoſe hylles: nowe on horſebacke, nowe on fote. Alſo he cauſed dyligent watches to be kepte, and he hym ſelfe wolde be the firſt, that ſhulde goo about it: he wolde be among them in theyr labours, and in their battayles, he wolde benignely calle, admoniſhe, and exhorſte his ſouldyours, he wolde very oft take his reſt and lye vpon the grounde, to the intent that other ſhulde the moze wyllyngly endure labour and trauaile. Finally he wold neuer gyue battayle to Antony: bycauſe that he, in prolonging of the tyme, might augmente his army with the great multytude of hopeleſſes, robbers, and theues, that dayly drew to him from all partes of Italy: whiche truſtyng to ſpoyle and robbe, and couetyng warre, had gyuen ouer theyr husbandry, & daylye wyppnyng. And alſo bycauſe Catiline thought it moze ſurer to abyde tyll the tyme his felowes at Rome had atcheued theyr enterpryſes, and rather to drawe toward the citie than to aſſay the haſard of batayle. And as he now haſted with all his power to invade his countrey: a meſſanger came and tolde to hym, how the conſpiracy was openly knowen at Rome, and that they (of whome we ſpake befoze) were putte to death. Than Catiline being ſooze troubled with theſe tydings, alteryng his counſayle, lefte the citie, and toke his iourney towarde France tranſalpine, hoppyng that the nation of Frenchmen, bitter ennemies to the Romayns, and alwaye gyuen to newefanglenes, wolde ſoone be induced to take theyr partes in this warre. He thought to brynge out-

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ward nations armed to the citie, and to make a myghty stronge army of men. He had the better hope, bycause the Delphinoyes, whiche are the nereſte bozderers vnto Italy, were by certayne of the conspirators, wryth great promyſſes alredy inticed, and the frenche men wyllingly harkened vnto them.

Catiline incloſed betwene two armyes, determyned to fyght. Capitulo. lxi.

**B**Ut M. Metellus the pretor (whiche led an army of.iii. legions in the countrey of Picene) being enſourmed by the that fled to hi, what way Catiline toke ſpedilye diſlodged, & pitched vnder the very fot of ymountaine with his thre legions, by the whiche way Catiline purpoſed to paſſe into Fraunce, and with a greate numbze of horſemen, and lyght harneyſed, he laye priuilye in a wayte in a places mete and conuenient. Whiche thyng whan Catiline, beinge entred into the countrey of Byſtoria, knewe, he determyned for many cauſes to make no longer delay, but as ſoone as euer he coude, to gyue battayle to Antonius. Of all whiche this was the moſt ſpeciall cauſe, for that he ſawe befoze hym his ennemye Metellus, with thre legiōs, redy to encounter wyth hym: and Antonius at his backe with a greate hoſte, whiche dyd purſue hym in his flyght: one euerye ſyde were the mountayns, whiche dyd let, that he coude not ſaue hym ſelfe by flyght, and therfoze he thought it was no mayſtry for his enemies: ſtoppyng the wayes, that no bytayles ſhulde come to him: to opteine the byctorye without any ſtroke ſtriking, if he ſhuld abide tyll the two hoſtis had

had inclosed him betwene them. Also he feared, lest by longe delayeng, his army wolde slyppe from him. For many fledde frome him, whan tydings came, that the matter wente yll on theyr syde at Rome: and many hastinge to come to him, returned backe home ageyne. And also because the numbze of his enemies daylye encreased. Also the nede of corne soore greued hym, for the ways beinge stopt, with great peine any vitailles coulde be brought to him. Than Catilene, all thele thinges considered & seinge he had no hoope (eyther to scape by flight, or that any succours shulde come to him) but onely in battayle, determined to assaye fortune, and to proue the vttermoste ayde. Wherefore assemblynge his counsaile togyther, and callinge to the same counsaile souldiours of all sortes and degrees, he made to them an oration, the which though it be found in Salust, yet bicause it can not be so properly Salustis as Catilins, I haue therfore vnderwriten here the copie therof. For Iustinus writeth, that Pompeius Trogus, the greate wziter of hystories, reproueth Liuius and Saluste, by cause that they in many places of theyr booke, putte o-ther mens orations for theyr owne. And so vndoutedly the oration that Salust hath platēd in the conspiracye of Catiline, vnder the person of Cesar & Cato beinge at altercation togyther touchinge the payne & punishment of the conspirators (whiche we haue sowed to this oure worke) were euery word Cesars & Catos, Plutarchus sayth it: whiche wryteth in the lyfe of Cato, that M. Cicero appoynted certayne wziters in the Senate, whiche by theyr seleritie and spedynesse in wrytinge, shulde moste easilye regester the sentences of the Senatours: and by that meane the same oration of Cato was kept.



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But whether this oration folowynge, were Salustes, (as I beleue it was) or els Catilys, I for certayn considerations, wolde rather haue it put pere, than myne owne. Nowe than let vs here Catiline exhortynge his souldiours to battayle.

**T**he oration of Catilys to his souldiours, in whiche he exhorteth them to fyght manfully. Cap. iij.

**K**nowe verie well good souldiours, that wordes can not make menne couragious, nor a cwarde and a fearefull armie, can not be made stronge and valyaunte by the capitaynes oration: but looke what audacitie euery man hathe by nature or custome, suche is it wounte to appere in battayle. For in bayne thou shalte exhort hym, whom neyther glozy nor peryll can encorage, feare of the mynde annoyeth the herynge. But I haue tolde you together, to declare vnto you a fewe thynges, and also to breake and open my mynde vnto you. Ye knowe my souldiours, to what affliction and myschefe the feynt courage and cowardyse of Lentulus, hath brought hym selfe and vs: and nowe that I taryeng for succours to come frome the citie can not nowe passe into Fraunce. Nowe you all perceyue as well as I, in what case we stande. Our ennemyes haue two hostes, the one wyll not suffre vs to drawe to the citie, the tother doth let vs to enter into Fraunce, to tary longer in these places, thoughe we wolde neuer so fayne, nede and lacke of bytaye and other thynges wyll not suffer vs: whither so euer it please you to goe the way must be opened with your wepons. Wherefore I warne you, be of good courage, and whan ye shall fyght

fyght, remembre, that yf ye fyght manfullye, youe shall wyne with your handes not onely ryches, gloze, and woorthyp, but also lybertie and your countrey. If we ouercome, all thynges shall surely be ours, we shall haue abundance of vitayles, cities and towne alied to the Romayns shall be opened vnto vs. If feare make vs to shrinke, the selfe same thynges shall be agaynst vs: for neyther place, nor frende shall succour hym, whome his armour coulde not defende. Furthermoze my souldiours theyr necessitie and ours is not alyke: we fyghte for our countrey, for our lybertie, and oure lyues, it is no nede for them to fyght, that a fewe maye be myghty & strong. Wherfore set vpon them the moze boldly, remembrynge what noble actes ye haue done in tyme past. Ye myghte haue ledde forth your lyues in exile with greate shame and reproche: and some of you, hauyng none youre selues, myght haue gaped longe inough at Rome vppon the goodes and ryches of other: But bycause that faction semed vnto you, beinge men, shamefull and intolerable: ye determyne to take this waye. If ye wyll relinquishe those thynges, it behoueth you to be bolde. For no man excepte a conquerour, changeth warre for peace. For to hope to saue your selfe by flyghte (whan ye retorne your backes, or thzowe aboaye your armour, wherewith youre bodyes are defended) that is a verie madnesse. For euermoze in batayle they are in greatest peryll, that be mooste fearefull. Boldnesse is in stede of a stronge wall. Whan I consyder youe my souldiours, and whan I ponder youre dedes, a greatte hope of vyctory embraceth me: youre lustye stomackes, youre yowthe, your strengthe encourageth me, farther, oure extreme nede, the whiche maketh the fearefull stronge

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and hardy. The multitude of our enemies can not compass us about, the straitnes of the place wyll not suffer them. But in case that Fortune wold not fauor your valyante dedes take heede that ye dye not vnreuenged, or be taken & murdred as beaustis, but rather fyghtynge lyke men, leaue to our ennemies a blouddy and lamentable victoꝛye.

Howe Catilpne ordered hys battayles.

Cap. lvi.



When he hade sayde these wordes, he ledde out of their lodgingis all his armye, and fyrst he couered his owne horse, and after al the other mennes horses oute of syghte, so the ende the souldyours beyng euerie manne in egall daunger, shulde wyth the better stomacke entre into battayle, and also that noo man shoulde hope to saue him selfe by flyghte. This done, he ordred his batayl on this wise. In the balwarde he ordeyned, viii. cohortes, and among them he appoynted the best of the petycaptayns, and of the comone souldiours suche as were best harneysed. In the myddelle batayle were Syllas souldiours, whiche though they were but a fewe, yet for their valiantnesse, Catilpne had greate hope by them to get the victoꝛye. Those, whose dede in battayle he lyttell trusted, which eyther for lacke of knowlege in warefare, or that were but yl harneysed, he sette aparte, as it were to ayde the othere battayles, and to make a shewe and a bragge of fyghtinge men to the drede of their ennemies. But to be capitaine in the lefte wyng he appoynted a certayne Fesulane, in the ryght wyng. C. Manlius hym selfe stode in the myddel battayle nexte to the standerde, the Eggle, whych hee thoughte



thought predestinate to destroy the comon weale. Whā Catiline had thus ordred his battayles, he went forth a lyttel from his campe, that if Antonius wolde fyght, he myght haue oportunitie. Whiche thyng, whan Antonius army behelde, they sayde aloude: An occasion soo good for the atcheuyng of theyr busines, shulde not bee omitted, it was tyme to set vpon thē. But C. Antonius not withstandinge he esteemed him selfe a great deale to strong for his enemies, bothe for the multitude of hys & fewnes of theirs, & for the ancient glozy wone in warre yet he wolde not cōtende in battayle, ouermuch dzeding the comon hasarde, and vncertaine chances of warre.

¶ Thus Antonius doubtyng and resystynge their desyre, and saynge aloude, it pleased hym not to fyghte: sodaynly his treasourer, M. Sestius, a valyante manne beganne to intreate and praye hym, that he shulde haue no doubte to giue battayle: and othere whyle he accused hym, that by delayeng he wold lette slyppe soo good and so great oportunitie. The goddis immortall (sayde he) do sygnifye to vs the vyctorye. For lyke as wee alwayes desyred our souldiours alredye encouraged to fyght, hereafter we shall not haue no suche occasyon. For if Catilne maye gette into Fraunce, we shall not wyne the vyctorye without great effusion of bloude, and destruction of all Italy. Whith many lyke persuations, at the laste he broughte Antonius in the mynde, that he wold gyue battaile to Catiline. Wherefore Antonius, committynge the armye to M. Petreius (a right noble and valiant man, and in hyghe aucthoritie amonge the souldiours, and wonderrfullpe experte in chynallpe) hym selfe, bycause he was syckelye, abode styll in his tente. Than M. Petreius byngynge the

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the armie out of theyr Campe, though he salve them desyrous to fyght, yet he iudged it for the best to exhorte them, he calld them togyther, and with these wordes stomaked them.

The oration of M. Petreus to the souldiours. Cap. lviij.



**A**lthoughe I perceyued good souldiours, that in this case is was noo nede to exhorte you to do laubable: for why there is no man so ignozante of thynges, oz so folythe, whiche vnderstandeth not, that yf Catiline shulde at this tyme (whiche god forbide) ouercome vs, we shulde endure not onelye a cruell & proude domination, but also an infamous, and full of all myschiefe, noz shulde dare refuse any maner. of sharpe punyshement, youe knowe Catilyns crueltie: youe knowe there is nothinge in hym but braynsyke boldnes, pryde, sensualitie, viciousnesse., and selfe wyll, you knowe hys frendes, ye knowe all his kynrede, and that vnyuersally they are dycers, drunkardes, murderers of theyr parentes, and of all other mooste mischefull. He promysed to gyue this citie to his theues to spoyle, and nowe they appoynte out and dyuide amonge them selves, our goodes manours and houses. Noz they do not onelye desyre our goodes, but also beyng angrie, they couet oure bloudde. There is no pastyme mooze pleasant to them, than effusion of bloudde, than hangynge, beatinge, and to see the citsens tourmented before theyr faces. And they that for theyr solace, wer wonte to drynke mennes bloudde: whose bloudde trowe ye nowe in soo greatte thyrste and hatred of good menne, wolte they spare to spyll. Therfore he that wyll not be sturred wyth these

loo

fo horryble and cruell dedes : what mans oration can  
any thyng do oꝛ pꝛeuayle with hym : yet worthy soul-  
dyours, I woll doo as good maryners ar: wont, whi-  
che though the thyppe hauynge wynde at wyll, sayleth  
stwyftly: yet foꝛ the moꝛe spede they row w they ooꝛes:  
And as good horsemen do, whiche though they se their  
horses gallop lustily, yet they with voyce and spurs  
courage the. So likewise I exhoꝛt you being kendled,  
and with those thynges behemently starred to defende  
your lybertie, and (as it is sayde) pꝛicke you foꝛwar-  
des that rounne all redye. Wherfoꝛe I beseeche you, di-  
lygentely, take hede what I shall saye, and pꝛynte my  
woꝛdes well in your myndes. The matter nowe good  
souldiours, that we haue in hande, is not howe large  
oꝛ howe magnifycent the Romaine boundes shall be:  
but howe we shall this daye with our swerdes many-  
teyne and defende those thynges, that our foꝛefathers  
by theyꝝ many folde labours, byctozies, and in manye  
peres space conquered and got. Ye shal not nowe fight  
foꝛ glorie, foꝛ trybutes, oꝛ to reuenge iniuries done  
to our frendes (foꝛ whyche the Romaine armye is al-  
waye thonte to entre in to battayle) but foꝛ your com-  
mon weale, foꝛ the temples foꝛ the goddes immoꝛtall,  
foꝛ all your goodes, foꝛ your aultars and ozatoꝛies,  
foꝛ the lyues of your wyues and chyltern, foꝛ your li-  
bertie, and fynallye foꝛ the healthe of all the woꝛlde.  
We muste contende with an horrible and a cruel beast,  
whych bycause he is fallen into the dyche, lette hym  
be ouerwhelmed. Behynde, afoꝛe, and on euery syde  
he is harde holde, opppressed, and greued. If he escape  
our handes, this cruell pestylence shall sodenly flye  
into the fieldes aboute the subburbes, than shall oure



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fieldes be wasted and destroyed , our manours robbed and spoiled , the goodly edifyces of the citie bourned , the honeste wyues and noble mennes chylderne shalle be taken awaye , and deliuered to the souldiours . In the senate shalle be feare in the markette place conspyracye , in the fielde an armye : but in euerye other seate and place , the sworde and fyze shalle beare the rule . If the common weale dydde ever lamentablye desyre the prowesse, helpe, and fortitude for her souldiours at this tyme I saye , she requyrez it : whyche beinge besieged with fyze and weapons of this wycked conspyracye, sheweth her selfe , and in maner speaketh thus to you.

**I** haue endured many thynges , the which in a citie or freedome were not to be suffered . For what tyme , what day , or what night hath there ben, in which those captiues haue not wrought me some myscheuous dyspleasure : What murder hath ben doone these many yeres without theym : What vngratious or abhominable dede without them : And though these thynges aforesayde were intollerable , yet (as I coulde) I bare theym. But nowe who can endure , that I all together for this one mans sake , shoulde stande in drede and in mooste greattest daunger : Wherefore mooste valiaunt souldiours , I beseeche and praye you , suffre not that I beinge deliuered by diuine counsel , and the consuls prudence , from the snares and deceptes of Lentulus and other inward enemies , be oppressed by the cursed theft of this man . Moreover I comende vnto you the castel and capitoll , the walles of the citie , your auters the sepulcres of your forefathers , the lawes , customes , libertie . Your forefathers contended in battayle not onely to be

be out of bondage, but also to rule and comāde. And than what ought you to do, to escape the horryble and moſte cruell dominion of this vncleane theſe? Wherefoze moſte balyaunt ſouldyours, ſeynge the matter is bzought to ſo great a ieſperdy, eyther ye muſt this day reſeyne ſtyll by feate of armes, the propper lybertie of the Romaynes, and of your name, or elles ye muſt preſerre deathe aboue bondage. For they, theſe yuell doers, whiche victoriously ye ſhall banquiſhe, ſhall alſo for theyr parentes ſeing be punyſhed in helle. But yf any of you happe to be ſlayn in the battayle, ye ſhall opteyne and come to the place of good bleſſyd menne. Theſe words my countrey ſpeaketh vn to you. Nowe harken vnto me.

**S**eynge good ſouldyours, that many and dyuerſe kyndes of deathe hange ouer men: it ſemeth we ought rather to reioyce than to be ſorpe, yf that ſorte of dethe whiche is moſte goodly (to dye for oure countrey) ſhoulde chaunce vnto vs: and that by our deathe the libertie of the cytie myght be reſeyned ſtylle. For the lyfe is ſhorſte, but the courſe of glozpe is eternall. And ſeynge that euery manne muſt dye, we ſhoulde deſyre moſte ſpecyally to dye for our countrey. For though we lyue not here bodylye, yet we ſhall lyue in perpetuall glozpe. But nowe trewely, that that ſhulde be repelled by deathe, we maye eſchewe withoute ſhedynge of any of our bloudde. Whiche thyng that ye maye the better vnderſtande, I wylle declare to you, of what ſortes of people, this noble army of Catilins is gatheryd togyther. I here ſaye they be conſtate or gathered togyther of thre kyndes of men. The fyrſte kynde is of thoſe that Sylla ſente to inhabyte the

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towne of Fesules. These menne, bycause they haue  
wasted awaye theyr owne goodes, looke that Caty-  
lyne shoulde gyue them newe tables, and prescripti-  
ons of ryche menne. For they haue not forgotte, howe  
sodeynely in Syllastyne of pooze menne, they were  
made ryche. And not with standynge I here saye they  
be good bolde menne, yet I thynke them in no wyse  
to be doubted, for eyther that theyr olde strengthe is  
by ydelnesse or bodyly pleasure cleane quayled, or yf it  
remayne and contynue, they bothe in manlynesse and  
numbze are vnable to matche with you. The seconde  
kynde is of those cytesyns (yf they may be callyd cite-  
sens and not rather beastes) whych whyle they gaped  
for our goodes, wasted a waye theyr owne. These men,  
ouerwhelmed with wyne, gluttied with meate, and fe-  
bled with aduoutry, loke to be Consulles, Pretours,  
or Trybunes. Amonge this sort are they, with whych  
Catiline beinge propt vp, walked stately vp and downe  
at Rome, wiche he wolde neuer suffre to go from hym  
the whych neuer exercysed theyr youthe in rydynge,  
shotyng, or other good feates of armes, in watchyng,  
in enduryng warrerlike labour: but for those thyn-  
ges they lerned to loue and to be loued, to dance, syng,  
to make bankettes, and to play at dice. Wherefore they  
are nothyng to be cared for: for they shal rather curse  
and wyshe vs yuell, than be able, by feate of armes  
to greue vs. The thyrde kynde is dyuers, myngled to-  
gyther of many sortes of people. For in this route are  
all dyters, aduouterers, swordplayers, shepards, rob-  
bers, parentleers, finally all vngenerous knaues, and  
moste pestilent of all Italy. I iuge verily all those to  
be gathered here to gyther, that now this day they may  
for



for theyr myschiewous dedes receyue punyshmente,  
 dewe vnto theym many yeares agone . And of all this  
 greatte route, scarce the fourthe parte is well harney  
 sed. All othere gaue no targettes, helmettes, mozt-  
 pykes, nor harneys: But for these thynges they haue  
 hedginge bylles, iauelyns, or pyked stakes . Oh bat-  
 taye verpe moche to be feared, whan menne vnarmed,  
 shall fyght wyth armed men, foolyshe loutes with men  
 mozte polytyke, drounkarddes with sobze men, lyther  
 luskas, with men mozte stronge and hardy, sluggyshe  
 sleepers with men vigilaunt and watchefull: Whanne  
 fynally iniquitie, myschiefe, lechery, nedynesse, cowar-  
 dyle, foolehardynesse, all vyces shall contende wyth  
 equityte, goodnesse: temperaunce, strengthe, prudence,  
 and with all other vertues. Also we muste nedes truste,  
 that in this battaye, the verpe goddis immortall woll  
 fauourable prospere vs. Wherefore, excepte we wolle  
 nedes be slaues, the vyctorie is surelye ours. Whyche  
 thynges beinge thus good souldyours: I admonyshe  
 you for the common wealthes sake (than whiche no-  
 thyng ought to be derer vnto anye manne) I exhorte  
 you for my greate dyligence, whiche ye knowe I haue  
 practysed in warre faare, and I beseeche youe for the  
 greatnesse of the peryll that wee stande in, thynke  
 that all the ayde and succoure of the commune wealle,  
 all the state of the Cytie, the wealthe and lybertie of  
 all the Citisens, is layde and faste fyxed to youre swoz-  
 des poynted in this one battaye. Other nations canne  
 suffre seruytude and bondaga, Romaynes canne nat a-  
 waye therewith. Therefore eyther it behouethe vs to  
 conquere, or elles let vs, the princes of all the worlde,  
 and of all nations, rather dye wyth glorie, thanne to

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liue in seruitude with reproche.

¶ Howe Petreus ordered hys battayles. Cap. lxxv.



¶ **W**hen this oracion was done, the souldiours myndes were merueilouslie bended and soo lustie a courage and desire to fight tooke them that bneathe they wolde abide the sounde of the trumpet. Petreus ordeeringe his armie in two batailles, the aunciente cohortes of warriours in the vawarde, and the resydue of his hoste behinde, to ayde and souccoure them, and all thinges diligentelye aduised and marked, his souldiours instantelie requiringe and feruentelye desyringe it, he blew by his trumpet. At the sounde of the trumpet, they on bothe partes so fiercelye shewed their violence, and so sodainelye and soo hastelye ranne together, that they lefte no space to caste dartes at their enemies, but fought hande to hande wyth their swordes. Catilines menne beyng in extreme hoope of healthe, sticke fyerselye to it: The aunciente warrioures inflamed with Petreus wordes, and compelled wyth the glozte of their olde warrefare, strongelye receyued the fierce bzounte of their ennemies. They fought longe on bothe sydes mooste manuefullye, and with a fierce courage: the clamoure and noyse, and the dynne of swordes, myngled wyth gronyng was greate and hydeous. Dysdaine and the glozpe of warrefare encouraged the one parte, necessitie and desperacion stomached the other.

¶ **H**ow

Howe valiaunt a capytayne Catilene was.



**C**ATILINE in the meane whyle sent succours to suche of his menne as weere in daungier, and their places that were wounded and wearie, he furnyshed with freshe and lustie souldiours, he ofte strake his enemye, and exhorted them that weere slowe to battayle, hee retourned backe theym that fledde, and rounynge hyther and thyther, he soo dilygently prouyded for all thynges, that it were harde to iudge, whither he played the parte of a souldiour mooste valiant, or of a capytayne mooste politike. But at the self same tyme, he dydde bothe. Wolde to god Catilyn had hadde as good a mynde to gouerne the comon weale, as he had a body to make warre, and wolde to god he had not consumed his excellent wytte in myschiefe. Assuredly fewe citesynes wolde haue gouerned the comon weale better than he. But whan the immoderate luste to rule and haue the souerayntie, had swalowed hym vp, all these ornamentes, whiche in hym were excedyng great, with this myschief were obscured. And whyle he coueted to be lyke L. Sylla, and C. Marius, he was founde to be mooste vnylike to his auncestours. For Catilene (I wyll omytte his father and grandfather) was the sonnes son of that M. Sergius, whose promesse soo many warrellyke preysles wytnessen. Not withstandinge I redde of late certayne authors, that say, that Catilynes lynage came out of the house of the Scipions: But nothyng can be spoken moze contrary to lernyng. But now let vs retorne agayne to the battayle.



## Conspiracie

taile. Than Catilynes souldyours by his knyghtely dedes beinge put in good hopz, and freshely encouraged, fought so egerly, that Antonius souldiours a lytell reculyd. Whan Petreius perceyued that, he sente the seconde battayle to ayde theym that were in peryll: soo whan they that were freshe and lustye were in the places of them that were werre and wounded, Catilynes men coulde not susteyne their vyolence. Than the Fesulane in goinge aboute to succour his souldyours is slayne. Manlius oppressed with greate multitude of ennemies, mooste manfullye fyghtynge is slayne, with the mooste parte of the souldiours.

Whan Catilyne sawe the mattier at such a mischief and that there was no succours that myght be sente to helpe them, remembryng the lynage that he came of, and myndynge also that an honest deathe ostentymes dothe exornate a shamefull lyfe, despayryng to escape, gotte hym a monge the thickest of his ennemies, there sleinge many of them, he compellyd the resydue a lytle to recule. And whyle he fiercely pzeased vpon them, all the multitude tourned agaynst hym, there foughte he egerly hande to hand. At length being oppressed with multitude of enemyes, and receyuyng many greuous woundes, that he coulde scarsely stande, makynge a great slaughter aboute hym, with hyghe laude (if he had dyed for the comen weale) he was slayne. But the other ennemies, beinge paste all hope to escape alpyue, shewed suche manlynesse, that whan they that stoode before were ouerthrowen, they that were nexte defended them valiantly: and loke what place any of them toke being alpyue, they couered it beinge deade: fewe sauied theym selues by flyghte, whome noo man folowynge

boinge, they escaped easilie.

The warre that C. P. S. made with the  
Delphinois. Cap. lxx.

**T**H E same season certaine of the conspira-  
tours, with greate promyses stirred the  
Delphinois to make warre to the Romaines,  
whiche thinge I meruaile that Sa-  
luste (whiche wrote thys conspiracie) spake  
nothinge of. Than to repressse their violence, an armie  
was sente forth, ledde by C. P. S. whiche be-  
ynge Pretor with L. Flaccus, toke the deteccions of the  
conspiracie: who fought with them manie times prospe-  
rouselie. And whan he had with many batailles weried  
the Delphinois, and the common weale deliuerid from  
drede, being in rest, he determined to go no farther. For  
alway tyll that time the Romaine capitaines thoughte  
better to resyst the frenche men by war, than to prouoke  
them to it: For there was none other nacion thoughte  
able to make warre to the Romaines. All other busines-  
ses both by lande and sea, for the most part by the pro-  
ces onelie of Gn. Pompeius, were sucelie pacified.

The other conspiratours condemned at Rome. Cap. lxxi.

**A**fter this at Rome greate and greuouse  
Iudgementes were geuen againste the con-  
spiratours, L. Vergunteius a Senatour  
M. Antronius, Seruius Sylla, C. Cor-  
nelius, Marcus Lecca, M. Fuluius no-  
bilior, and manie other weere condemned. Yet manye  
of the partenars of the conspiracie escaped, For whan  
the

the citie, and almoste all Italye was infected with this  
 myschiefe, the Senate thoughte, that by the punishment  
 of a fewe, the myndes of the other myghte be cured.  
 But thys thyng I wyl not leaue vnspoken: for though  
 the lawes wyl not, that seruauntes shulde be rackte to  
 accuse their masters, yet concerninge this myscheful con-  
 spiracie, they rackte them to disclose their masters. And  
 no wronge. For the mooste prudente Senatours  
 decreed, that they that had enterprised so great  
 a myschiefe, ought to be bare and destitute  
 of al helpe both of lawe and man. Thus  
 Catilynes warre, the most terrible &  
 most perilous that man can reme-  
 bre, was by Cicero in his robe  
 and by Antonius armed ca-  
 pitaynes and Consulles,  
 stinted and brought  
 to an ende.

(.)

**T**hus endeth the conspiracy of Catilina  
 Imprinted at Loddon in Foster  
 lane by John Waley.



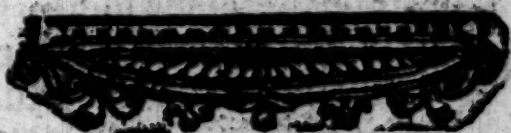


**H**ere begynneth the fa  
mous Cronicle of warre, whiche the Ro  
mapnes hadde agaynst Jugurth vsurper of the  
kyngedome of Numidie: whiche Cronicle is  
compiled in Laten by the renowned Ro  
mapne Salust: and translated into  
englyshe by M<sup>r</sup> alexander Bark  
laye prieste. And nowe per  
used and corrected by  
**Thomas Day**  
\* nell. \*

(.)

**N**etwely Imprinted in the yere  
of oure Lorde God  
M.D.Lviij.

(.)



To the ryghte honorable Lorde Antonye Wycounte  
Mountegue, knyghte of the ryghte honorable  
order of the garter, and one of the kynge  
and Queenes magesties pryue coun-  
saile: Thomas Daynel with-  
honoure and perfecte  
felicite.



Friend of myne (most honorable Lord) be-  
inge muche desirous to haue the Conspira-  
cie of Catiline, that noble and learned Ci-  
tizen of Rome, and the historie of Jugurth  
kynge of Numidie, most valiaunt and po-  
litike in feates of warre, in one volume comprised, in-  
stantlie desired me: for as much as I had already tran-  
slated the one, to peruse the other. Whose translator was  
nowe departed, but yet not out of freshe memorie: suche  
are his diuers woorkes very ingeniously inuented, and  
ryght eloquentlie translated. But yet here & there (tho-  
rough vblearned correctors) somewhat mangled and  
corrupted. I, to do my friend a pleasure, and the gentle  
readers of these two excellent histories no disprofite,  
haue accomplyshed my friendes requeste: trusting the  
matters of these histories to be so cherefull and plea-  
saunt, the oracions so ingenious and wyttie, the strata-  
gemes so close & craftie, the inuencions of things so di-  
uers and subtile, the answers of the prudent and poly-  
tike Romaines so vigemous and readie, the feates of  
Jugurth with his Numidians so worthy and manlie,  
the Romaines resistance and enterprises so warlyke and  
coragious, the actes of the whole warre betwene them  
so variable and diuers, and Ladye fortune (whiche in  
these

## The Epytyle.

these thinges hathe rule and dominion) nowe saylinge  
vpon the one and the other most flatteringly and clokely  
lie, that no man (except enuie do rule hym) can myslike  
the hystorie or the translation of the same: The whiche  
because the reader shulde most redely and plainly vn-  
derstande and perceiue the thinge, dothe paraphrastical-  
ly so open the hole matter, that no scruple remaineth to  
be doubted vpon. For Saluste the noble hystoriographe,  
doth in the latyn tonge so compendiously and briefly,  
but yet moste eloquentlie and truly, knyght by the whole  
hystorie of Jugurth, that the reader in diuers places (ex-  
cepte he be very ripe and perfecte in the eloquence and  
figures of the latyn tonge, and phrases of the same) shal  
stumble and stagger in the conueyaunce and vnderstan-  
dinge of the true meanyng and sence therof. But nowe  
to turne my pen somewhat vnto your lordeshyp: What  
thinge is there so obscure or intricate in sence, be it in la-  
ten, Italian, frenche, or Englyshe, that your fine and  
subtile wytte can not perce and perceiue? What politike  
feat of war, what instrument or warlike engine is ther  
that ye mooste finely and exactly can not handle? Yea  
what tytle or poynthe of nobilitie, or of any other thyng  
perteynyng to a noble man, is vnknewen to your lord-  
shyp, or yet to manie other of this mooste noble realme?  
But I at this presente wyll not speake of your knowe-  
ledge and litterature, of your comely and decent ciuili-  
tie and maners, nor howe ye fauoure & maintaine lear-  
nyng and learned men, nor yet howe your lordeshyp to  
to your great renowne and eternall fame, hathe at all  
tymes, and against all the rablemente of heretykes su-  
stained, and mooste constantly and chrystianly auanced  
the



## The Epistle.

The catholyke fayth of our Sauour and redemer Je-  
sus Christ. And truely to saye, suche a nother was that  
excellente and noble man your father, faithfull I mean  
to his liege lord and kynge, and to our lord his God,  
mooste faithfull. But of hys constante faythe, and other  
his famousse actes, prudente counselles, and wyt-  
tye immencions, at moze leasure. In the meane  
season I mooste humblye desire your good  
Lorde shyp fauorablye to accepte thys hy-  
pozite wyth my rude preamble, and  
mutually wyth fauoure to loue  
me, for to my slender pow-  
er I am yours to  
commaunde.

\*\*\*\*\*

(.)



# The Prologue of this

presente Cronicle compiled in laten by  
the famous Romayne Salust: and transla-  
ted into Englyshe, by Alexander  
Barclay Priest.



Mankynde wrongfully complayneth of hys  
naturall dysposicion: sayeng, that his feble  
and fraile life of shorthe cōtinuauce of tyme  
is rather ruled by chaunces of fortune: than  
by prouision of strength or vertue. But yf  
man wyll consyder his naturall inclination: contrarye  
to suche opinion: he shall fynde that nothyng longynge  
to mankynde, may be founde and proued greater, bet-  
ter, or moze preeminent than his naturall inclination: &  
that his owne diligence and exercise, rather faileth him  
than onther myght or longe continuauce of lyfe time.  
But in this opinion to iuge indifferētly: let man vnder-  
stande that the mynde is ordayned, guyder, ruler and  
captayne of mannes lyfe: whiche mynde: whan it valy-  
antly intendeth to attayne, to woorthyp and dignitie, by  
way of vertue: it nedeth nat to force of fortune, nor to  
care for her vncertayne giftes: but to dyspise her as nat  
able to gyue to any man honesty, diligēce or other good  
and vertuous exercises: nor able to depriue mā agayne  
of the same gyftes: after he hath obtayned the same.  
But on the other parte if this minde of man, taken and  
blynded with froward pleasures be subdued vnto flouth  
and bodyly lustes: after it hath exercised and occupied  
such ieoperdous pleasure by a lytel seasō: and after that  
by cowardous flouth, bothe the strength, the tyme and  
a.i. the

## The Prologue.

the wyte are vanysshed away and decayed: than anon  
the infirmitie and febilnes of nature is accused and put  
in blame. And thus all suche slouthfull doers transpose  
and lay awaye the faute whiche in them selfe is culpa-  
ble, vnto the difficulte of such besynesse, as they haue o-  
mitted by negligence. But if it were so: that men had as  
greate cure and affection of thinges good and profyta-  
ble, as they haue desyre & pleasure in sekynge and folo-  
wyng thinges contrary vnto them, and nothyng pro-  
fitable, ye: and also muche perylous and hurtfull: than  
shulde nat they be moze ruled by the chaunces of fortune  
than they shuld rule the sayd chaunces. And thus shuld  
they attayne and procede vnto so greate excellence: that  
where they be mortal of nature they shuld be made im-  
mortal by glory and renowned fame. For in lyke wyse  
as man is composed and made of. ii. thynges (that is to  
say of the body and soule) ryght so all thynges, all besy-  
nesses and exercises, to mankynde belongyng, foloweth  
some the nature of the bodye: to decay bresely and to be  
mortal: as it is, which thing forther to proue by exam-  
ple, we daly se that the goodly beauty of the visage and  
shape of mankynde, great abondauce of ryches, & also  
the strength of the body, wyth all other such thynges  
and semblable, decayeth and vanyssheth awaye wythin  
shorte tyme. But contrarely the excellent and worthy  
actes: belonging to mans wyte: be immortal and euer-  
lastyng: as the soule is immortal. And finally in lyke-  
wyse as the begynning of the gyftes corporall or natu-  
rall, and of the gyftes of fortune is caduke, bayne, and  
vncertayne: ryght so is the ende of the same mutable &  
transitory. And all thynges whiche be bozne and sprin-  
gyng: agayne decayeth and appoacheth to deth: & whan  
these



## of Salust.

these same be growe and increased to the high of theyr  
perfectiō: agayne they begyne to decay and consume by  
age and debilitie. But the mynde and soule beyng in-  
corrupte, eternal and gouernoure of mankynde, ruleth  
and weldeth al thynges: but it selfe can nat be violently  
ruled nor compelled by any thyng erthly, consydering  
the freewyll, whiche it optayneth of his creatour. For  
whiche consyderation the trowarde iniquite of them is  
moze to be maruayled: which subdued to the ioyes and  
pleasures of the body, passe forth the time of theyr lyfe  
in carnall lustes and ydelnes. But towochyng theyr wyt  
(whiche is the best gyfte and grettest treasure graunted  
to mankynde) that suffre they to slomber and to slepe  
wythout exercise, in slouth and ydelnes: whose dulnes  
surely is somoch moze to be blamed: namely sith so ma-  
ny & diuers noble exercises & occupacions of the mynd  
be; by whom most clere nobles and fame vndeiled may  
be optayned. But of suche diuers exercises concernyng  
the mynd some are better refused: thā pzocured in trou-  
blous tymes & inquiet. And namely in this tyme tur-  
bulent and season vnquiet: great offyces, lordshippes,  
robmes to commaunde and rule, and bzefely to speke.  
All maner cure concerning the administracion of thyn-  
ges appartenynge to the comen wele: semeth vnto  
me nat at all to be coueted or desyzed of any wyse man,  
For neyther is honour giuen vnto vertue, as condigne  
rewarde and worthy therto belongynge nother such as  
haue gotten iurisdicciō and honoure, by fraude and vn-  
lawfull meanes (in lyke case) can nat be moze sure nor  
moze honest, by meane of such honour so vnryghtwyse-  
ly obtayned. For certainly a man to rule hys countrey &  
kynred by myght and violence: all if he haue power so

## The Prologue

to do and also though he ryght wyllly correct the crimes  
of the transgressours and misdoers. Neuertheles: so to  
do it is vnbefouefull and vnxpediente. And often at  
conclusion moze peryllous and daungerous: than it is  
sure or profytable, and namelye, syth all mutacions of  
thynges, and chaunges of gouernours pretende & thre  
ten slaughter, of some exile or wyllfull flyghte, impris-  
sonmente wyth othere lyke cruelties, moze belon-  
gyng to ennemies of a comen wele, than to defenders  
of the same. Than forthermoze: a man to labour to the  
vttermost of his power, and all in vayne. And in we-  
ryenge him selfe to get noughte els but euyll wyll and  
hatted: it is a point of extreme & vtter madnes, excepte  
perchaunce it be suche one, whiche hath a dishonest, a  
foule and perelous pleasur to cast away for nought hys  
owne woorthyppe & libertie, for pleasure of a fewe migh-  
ty men vsurpers of dominion and lordshyp. But amog  
all other besynesse, whiche are exercised by mannes wyth  
the redyng of hystories and the reducing of the same to  
memozy: is moche moze necessary and profitable to al de-  
grees beryng rule of a comen wele, but most namely  
vnto princes. Of power, profet, and commodite wherof  
I purpose at this tyme to passe ouer wth silence, bycause  
many other authours haue wrytten of y same befor my  
tyme. And also y no mā shuld suppose my selfe by prid or  
insolēce, to boost mine owne study vainly laudig y same.  
But muche contrarie I beleue rather y some enuious  
malygners shalbe hereafter, which shal object & ascribe  
a name of slouth and negligence to this my labour.  
Howe great and profitable so euer it be: & that bycause  
I haue determyned to lede my lyfe solitarly: fre from  
medlyng with the comen wele. Certaynly (as I sup-  
pose

## of Salust.

pose) they onely shall impute and ascribe suche name to me, & to this my labour: which thinketh it a most great and singular craft or practised wysedome to wyne benignolence, by salutynge the commen people, and by dissimulate reuerence done to euery man passyng by them or els to get fauour by feastyng and flatteryng the commenty. Whiche enuious maligners: yf they wolde consider bothe in what maner seasons and in what ieopardous tymes I haue obtayned offices & robes of auctorite, and what men wolde gladly, and yet myght nat obtayne suche robes. Moreouer yf they call to mynd what maner of men afterwarde came into the order of senatoures. For certayne if my wyllers consider indifferently these premisses: than shall they thinke that I haue chaunged the purpose of my mynd: more for cause reasonable: and by good aduiselement, than for flouth and cowardise, and they shall fynde, that more profete shall come to the commen wele by this my study (which they count but ydelnes and tyme mysspente) than of the labour and besynes, whiche other men take vpon them fayne and iniustlye administrynge the common wele. And they shall fynde that my writinge shall proue it selfe more laudable and profitable to the comentie, than theyr vndiscrete gouernaunce. For often haue I harde of the famous prynces Quintus Marimus, and Publius Scipio, and besyde these of many other ryght famous and worthy men of the cytie of Rome, whiche whā they behelde the ymages of theyr forefathers made of stone of waxe, or of metall, & erecte into hye trones in memoriall of the valiaunte and magnificente actes by them doone for the commen wele: the sayde prynces in aduisinge suche ymages weere wonte to saye vnto suche



## The Prologue

as stode nere by them: that theyr myndes were gretlye kyndeled to vertue and nobles in contemplynge of the same. The case is playne: that suche figures of metall stone, or ware had nat such operatiō nor myght within them selfe. But such hygh courage and flame was kyndeled and increased in the hardye hertes of suche noble men and valiante warriours, by remembraunce of the glozvous dedes of theyr forefathers in theyr lyfe tyme done and represented to their memozy by such ymages in so moche that this flame kyndled in theyr hertes to vertue coude neuer be slaked nor saciate in thē, tyl tyme that they were equall with their forefathers in vertue, fame, and glozy. Than how moch more ought the clere description of hystories to kyndell vnto boldnes & vertu the myndes of noble men by redyng of the same. But moche contrary, yf we aduert the woorld as it is now amonge all men whiche lyue, and conforme them selfe to the maners bled nowe adayes, where shall we fynde one: but that wyll striue and contende wyth theyr forefathers to ouercome them, other in couetise and superfluous ryches, or els in prodigalite and wastfull expenses, and nat in honest and laudable lyfe, good exercises and diligence. And moreouer gentylme of the fyrst hed whiche were wont to pzeuente auncient noble men and ascende vnto vertue and nobles, by vertuous maners: suche laboure nowe to lordeshyp, honour and authozite by fraude and fallshode: rather then by very vertue or good meanes and laudable. After such maner as if the offyce of a hye Iuge, of a Tresourer, a Cōsull, a Prouost, and all suche other great offices, were noble & excellent of them selfe. And nat in maners as if suche offices shulde be counted of worthines and dignite: after

as the vertue and honour is, of such as rule in the same offices and by rowmes. But playnlye affirmynge the treuth: the man maketh the office noble and woorthypfull: yf his maners shyne by vertue. But yf his conuersacion be contrary, no offyce, no rowme, can make hym noble nor woorthypfull. But this omittyng I haue proceeded in this prologue wyth ouer ferre circumstaunce, and also wyth somewhat to moche libertie of wordes, moze than in a pze face is requisite: for that it ppteeth me of these tedious maners of this oure cite of Rome. But now wyl I come to my mater purposed, and fyrst interpryse begonne.

Of what matter Salust intendeth to treate in pze of hys boke and what causes moueth hym of suche mater to wyte.

The fyrste Chapter.

**I**n this warke I purpose to wytte of the warre, whiche the Romaynes had and executed agaynste the tyrannye Jugurthe, wozonfully vsurpyng the name of a kynge ouer the lande of Numidy. Many causes moueth me by wytinge to commend this warre to perpetuall memory. fyrst for that in the same was foughten at many tymes with greate multitude of men on eyther partie, with moche cruell murdre and variable victorpe: the Romaines sometyme, sometyme the Jugurthins preuaylyng in victorpe. Forthermoze bycause that fyrst at this batayle: and from thens forwarde the commen people of Rome matched with the princes, resistynge theyr pryde. For where as before this tyme the noble men of Rome oppressed & subdued the commens with vnreasonable rigoure, the commens elect one named

## The batayle

med Marius a man of basse byrth to be cōsul of Rome and captayne in this batayle: whiche after he had obtayned victoꝝy ouer Jugurth with greate gloꝝpe, triumph and fauoure of the commentie, he supported the in suche wyse agaynst the noble men: that of the same rose a cyuile bataile and greuous disorde, betwene the noble men and commens of Rome: Marius maintenyng the commens partie, and Silla susteyninge that partie of the noble men. In somoch that finallye bytwene these two partes and captayns of the same was foughten an vnkynde, vnnaturall, and cruell batell: to the greuous ruine of the Romaine empire, and subuersion of the cōmen wele. whiche contention and variannce confounded bothe the lawes of god and man, and by the same were all good ordinaunces disordred. And this same furious debate and folye proceded at last to so vnreasonable madnesse & execrate fury, that it neuer desisted, nor this baryauce and discencion bytwene the noble men and commens neuer ceased: tyll tyme that cruell & mortall batayle foughten bytwene both parties, & tyl tyme that also distructiō of the land of Italy compelled both parties at last to consyder theyꝝ owne blynde folye and cruell furoꝝ: & so finallye to mittigate and fynishe theyꝝ debate and vnreasonable dyssencion. But fyrst oz I begyn to wryte of this batell I shall repeate and declare afew thynges done before this war began: to the intent that al thynges moost chiefe, worthe & expedient to be knowe may be moze euident, open & clere, to the reders.

Howe the kynge Massinissa came into the fauoure of the Romayns, and howe the lande of Numby was conuertyed vnto hym.

## The second Chapter.

The



**T**he Romayns had thre notable & famous batayls agaynste the Carthaginences, in whiche the same Romayns had great damage. Howe be it in conclusion of every batayle they wanne victorie of theyr enemies: in the seconde of these batailles what tyme Hanniball duke and captayne of the Carthaginences wasted the welth and riches of Italy more thā any other enemy had ever done befoze, after the Romayns beganne to haue any greate name and to delate theyr dominion: A famous prince named Massinissa kynge of the lande of Numydy was receyued into frindshippe and fauour of the Romaynes: by one Publius Scipio captayne of the sayd Romaynes, whiche Scipio afterward for his manhode was named Scipio affrican, bycause he ouer came and subdued the lande of Affrike. This Massinissa so receyued into fauour of the Romayns in the foresayde batayle dyd many noble and famous actes of chyualry, with hygh valiantise and corage. For whiche deserves: after the Romayns had overcome the Carthaginences and theyr cite, and after they had taken prisoner the king Sciphar, which had in Affrik a worthy, great and large empire the people of Rome gaue frely vnto the same kynge Massinissa, all suche cities and landes as they had taken and wone in batayle. For whiche benefites so magnificent and ample Massinissa continued vnto them in profitable and faythful frendshyp bys life induring but at last his lyfe ended, and the welth of his empire decayed also with hym. This kynge departyng lefte behynd hym thre sonnes, whose names were Mascipsa, Manastaball, and Balussa, of whome Mascipsa succeded his father, and alone obtayned the kyngedome

## The batayle

after that the other two brethren Anastabal and Galussa, were departed frome this lyfe by sickenesse. This Micipsa had two sonnes named Adherball & Hiempfall. But Anastaball his brother which departed (as sayd is) left behynd him one sonne nat lausfly borne, but a bastarde, begoten of his concubine: wherfore departing he lefte hym orbate withoute lande or lyuelode. This consyderinge Micipsa suffered hym nat to faute nor decaye: but forasmuche as he was his brothers sonne, receyued hym into his court, & hym cherished in lyke wise as he dyd his owne sonnes, Adherball & Hiempfall. This Jugurth after y he was a lytel growen by to age: was myghty in strength comely, and fayre of face: but moost of all, excellent of wyt & wysedome. Nor he gaue nat hym selfe to be corrupte with lust nor in craftye flouthe: but as is the custome & maner of the people of Numidi hymselfe he exercised, somtyme in rydyng, somtyme in casting the dart & iustyrng, & somtyme in connyng & wrestlyng with his companions of lyke age. And nat withstanding, that in laud and prayse he passed al his peres yet none enuied hym but he was derely beloued, cherished, & lauded of al men. Moreover he passed moche of his tyme in huntynge of wyld bestes which in that land habounded: he was the firste, or one amonge the firste which durst assaile and stryke the lyon, and other cruell and wyld bestes: he dyde moche: & lytel sayd or boasted of hymselfe. For suche denreanour his vncle Micipsa at first begynnynge was gladd and ioyefull: supposynge that in tyme to come the manly behauour & strength of Jugurth shuld be glozy & honour to al his kyngdome. But afterwarde in proesse of tyme whan he cosydred & vnder-

understode his lyfe approachinge fast to ende, hys natu-  
rall sonnes yonge, and vnerperte. And this yonge man  
Jugurth in honour and fauour dayly encreasing more  
and more he reueyled many thynges in mynde greatly  
moued with such sollicitude and busynesse. Forthermore  
he consydred that, all men of kynde be naturally incly-  
ned to desyre to rule, and commaunde by lordshyppe,  
rather than to be ruled and subiecte. And howe man is  
prone and hedlyng inclined to fulfyll the desyers of his  
mynde dredyng no daungers: nor suspectynge no peryll  
while he is errete by ambition and desyre of lordship.  
Whereouer aduysing the oportunitie of his owne age, &  
of the age of his chyldren whiche for youth were not a-  
ble to resyst any power or violence: which oportunitie is  
wonte to be not small confort, audacite and courage,  
not onely to bolde hertes, but also to meane men and  
cowardes, intending to conspyre agaynst theyr princes  
in hope of praye and promotions. Suche consyderacy-  
ons feared sore the mynde of Micipsa, besyde these, hys  
drede and doloure was augmented, whan he behelde  
the fauoure and hertes of all his subiectes of the lande  
of Numidy utterly inclyned to Jugurth: wherefore to  
put to death the same Jugurth by anye gyle (as hys  
purpose was to do) he drede moost of all: dowtyng  
lest thereof myght succede bytwene hym and hys sub-  
iectes some insurrection or battayle. Micipsa com-  
pased on euery syde wyth these dyfficultyes, was soore  
troubled in mynde. And whā, he saw y nother by strength  
nor gyle he might destroy a man so well beloued of the  
commens (as was Jugurth) at last he deuised an other  
waye to ryde hym, and that without daunger or suspec-  
tion



## The batayle

tion, wherfore wherfore Micipsa aduertynge that Jugurth was redy of hande to strike, auenterous & moche desyrrous of honour and laude of chivalry, he concluded with himselfe to object hym to daunger & peryl of war, and by that meane to assay the fortune of batayle.

**N**ow at the same seaso the Romains warred against a cite of Hispayne named Numance, vnto which war diuers kinges to the commens associate sent vnto them succours agaynst the same cite. Among whom Micipsa also sent a fayze companye of hozsmen and fotemen, ouer whome he made Jugurth captaine, and sent hym forth wyth them into Hispayne, trustynge that there he lyghtlye shulde be ouerthrowen and slayne in batayle, other in the wyng his manhod and strength, or els by fyersnes and crueltie of his enemyes. But this thyng fortunied moche contrary to his opinion. For Jugurth was of mynde and courage valiaunt and bolde, and of wytte quicke and redye, so that after he had perceyued the disposicion, behauour and maners of Dubling Scipio, at that tyme captayne of the Romains, and whā he had consydzed also the maners of his ennemyes, he behaued hymselfe in such wise with moch labour, besines and cure, in obeynge his captayne with so good maner and often tynes countryng his enemies without dzed of perill. In somoch that with in shorte tyme he came to so great fame and worshyppe, that vnto the Romaines he was marueylous dere and well beloued, and of the Numantines dreade as deth: and certaynly, among the chiefe he was worthy and valiaunte in batayle: and also good of counsell, of wysedome pregaunt and circumspect. Whiche two thynges be muche harde to be in one man both togyder, for wysedome is often wonte to  
make

make men afeerde and to drede many perypis becaule of prouidence. But boldnes and audacite causeth men to be ralshe and solehardy, bycause of stout courage. But his wysedome directed his strength, and his strengthe was obediente to wysdome. Wherefore Scipio the capitaine dyd almost euery ieopardous and whygthy thing by hande and counsell of Jugurth, hym countynge among his chese frendes and daily cheryshed him more and more, and no marueyle, for there was no counsell, nor interprise begone of Jugurth frustrate or in bayne but all came to good effect. Besyde these gyftes aboue sayd he was curtes of mynde, lyberal, and of wytt right discreete and prudent: by which giftes he adioyned vnto hym many of the Romainys in famulier frendshype. At that same season in the army of Rome were ryghte many newe, and also auncient gentylmen, whiche sette more by riches than goodnes or honeste. At home in Rome were they sowers of dyscord and debatful, great in fame among the frendes of the Romainys. But more famous by worshyppe and rowme, than by honest conuersacion. These kyndled the mynde of Jugurth nat a lytell promising often tymes and sayenge to set his courage on fyre, that if the kyng Nicipsa discelled the time shulde come that Jugurth alone shulde enioye the hole kyngdome of Numidy wythout any partiner. For in hym (they sayde) was greate vertue, greate manhode, strength, and audacite wyth wysedome, able to gouerne suche abyngdom, and nothing was so iniust and false but that might be iustified at Rome for gold, and all thynges were there to be sold by couetyse of noble men.

Howe Publius Scipio counselled Jugurth at his departyng after the cpte of Numance was destroyed.

The thyrde Chapter.

## The batayle

**T**hus continued Jugurth in the Romaines army in Hispayne wyth greate fauoure of the Romaines and namely of Scipio the captaine, tyll at last the army of Rome had destroyed the sayde citie of Numance. Thā Publius Scipio concluded to retourne agayne to Rome and to congye and lycence suche socours as were sente vnto him from other kynges: amonge all other he called Jugurth vnto him, and befoze the multitude of all the army assembled, lauded and commended him magnificently recitynge his glozious actes and manly dedes of chyualry. And after that woorthely and rychele rewarded hym for his labours. This done, he conueied hym into the captains tente, and there secretly warned hym that he shuld continue and woorthyp y frindeshyp of the people of Rome rather hole togyder and comenly, thā priuatly leanyng to any singuler rulers. Moreouer addyng these monitions, that he shulde nat rather rewarde and be liberall to a fewe priuatly: than to a hole commente, sayeng that it was a perillous thyng to bye that, of a fewe persons, whiche belonge vnto many in comen. If he wolde perseuer and continue in so noble condicions as he had begon, he shulde shortly come to greate honour, glozy and dignite royall, more than he wolde desyre. But if he wolde procede and labour to ascende ouer hastily, than shulde both he and his ryches fall heedlyng to ruyne and decaye. After Scipio had sayd these wordes with suche like, he licensed Jugurth to depart, and sent him vnto his vncle Micipsa agayne into the lande of Numidy wyth letters directe vnto the same kynge Micipsa, of whiche letters the tenure and sentence hereafter ensueth, and was suche.

The



The sentence of the letter dyrect from Publius Scipio captaine of the Romaine army in Hyspayne vnto Micipsa kyng of Numidy.  
The fourthe Chapter.

**P**ublius Scipio Captaine of the Romaine army in Hyspayne sendeth helth and salutation to Micipsa kyng of Numidy frende & felowe of the empire of Rome. The vertue strength and noblenes of your neuewe Jugurth whome ye sent vnto our socours hathe bene proued in this warre of Numance, ferte excellent aboue any other warriour of our retyrue, which thing I knowe for certayne is to your greate pleasure and gladnes. For his worthy merytes he is right dere and wel beloued vnto vs. And we shall deuoye vs to the best of oure power that he may bee lyke deere and well beloued of all the leantours & people of Rome. I am surely ryght ioyefull on youre behalfe of this youre treasure Jugurth, thauncient amyle betwene you and me, byndeth me to be gladd of this your commodite. For certayne-ly to here haue ye a man of Jugurth worthy to discende of such noble stocke as ye are and as his grandfather Massinissa was in his dayes whom he foloweth in all poyntes of vertue and magnanimite.

Howe the kyng Micipsa adopted Jugurth vnto his soune.  
The fyfte Chapter.

**W**ith these letters of Scipio Jugurth retourned vnto Numidy vnto his vncle Micipsa, where he was worthely and ioyefully receiued of the comentie. But after that the king Micipsa vnder stood by these letters of commendacion of the captayne Scipio

## The batayle

Scipio: that the baliante and noble actes of Jugurth were trewe, whiche longe befoze he had harde by report of the comen fame, thā what for the nobles of Jugurth and fauoure bothe of his dedes and commendacion of Scipio he moued his mynde chaunged frō his forsayd purpose, and not forther intended to oppresse Jugurthe by malycie nor enuy. But concluded to attempt to ouercome him with benefites and kindnesse, to the intent that he so ouercome, shulde not in tyme to come fynde in his hert for pyre to indammage hym nor his heyres. And sone after this purpose the same Scipia adopted Jugurth vnto his sonne: and farthermore decreed & ordayned in his testament that Jugurth shulde be one of his heyres, and partener in possession of his kingdome togyder with his two natural sones, Adherbal & Hiempsal. But a fewe yeres after this ordinaunce Scipia what by age, what by sykenesse, drew nere vnto his end of lyfe, and was consumed by age and disease: wherfore considering his deth so fast approchynge it is sayd that he called Jugurth befoze him and than befoze many of his frendes and kynsmen, also in presēce of his two natural sones Adherbal and Hiempsal, he had to the same Jugurth such wordes as he herafter insue & folowe.

The exortacion which the kynge Scipia a lytell befoze his deth had to Jugurth.

The .viij. Chapter.



I dere sonne Jugurth, I knowe it is not oute of your remembraunce, howe after that ye had lost your father my brother I charitably & lovingly receiued you yonge & of tender age into my kingdome: what tyme ye warre without riches, without conforzte, and without any hope of conforzte or ryches,

rythes: but very lykely to haue bene cast awaye. This  
 dyd I thinkyng that for these my benefytes and kynd-  
 nesse I shoulde bee vnto you not lesse intylerly beloued  
 than of myne owne naturall chyldren with my body be  
 gotten. For certainly this thing hath not disceiued me.  
 For why to ouerpasse your other great, magnificente &  
 excellent dedes of you valyauntly done betore, special-  
 ly now last of all comyng from the warre of Numace  
 ye greatly adourned and inhaunced to honour & glozy  
 bothe of mine owne person and this my kingdome.

And where as the Romaines in fore times were fren-  
 des vnto vs, by your vertue and manlye actes, ye haue  
 establyshed that amitie: and of frendes made the moche  
 mooze frendes. So that in Hispayne the name & glozie  
 of oure householde by your manhode is renouate and  
 renewed. Thus finally, ye haue overcome the enuie of  
 your yl willers onely by your glorious actes and vali-  
 aunt interpryses, whiche is one of the moost difficultie,  
 wherfore nowe my sonne Jugurth, sithe it is so that na-  
 ture hath nere concluded the ende of my life, I admo-  
 nithe, charge and exhorte you by the faith of your right  
 hand, and by the faith and fidelite which ye owe to this  
 my kingdome I obtest and require you, that ye loue,  
 meintaine and cherishe these my two sonnes, Adherbal  
 and Hiempsall: whiche of kinnered be nere to you, and  
 by my benefite and kindnes are bzyetherene vnto you.

Forthremore I exhorte you that ye counte not better  
 and mooze pleasure to acquainte and conioine vnto  
 youe forayns or straungers, rather than to retayne  
 suche as be ioyned to you by natural blode and kynred.  
 For neyther is a great army of men nor habundance of  
 treasours: y chefe socours or defence of a kyngdome: but



## The batayle

moche rather trusty & faythfull frendes:whome a man canne neyther compelled by force of armes : noz yet bye with golde noz syluer to perseuer in stedfast ampte:but they be optayned & kept by kyndnesse, good dedes, fidelite & faythfulnes. But among all frendes:who can be moze frendlye & stedfaste in ampte than brother to brother. Certaynly none ought to be moze louyng of natural inclination. Or what straüger,shal ye fynd faythful and trusty to you:if ye shewe your selfe ennemy to your owne kynsmen. Forsothe if ye contynue togyder honest good & louyng in agreable concoorde bytwene your selfe thanne this kyngdome which I committe & gaue vnto you shal continue sure and stedfast:as it is now. But cōtrarely if ye be yll and disagreyng among your selfe ye shal in short season make it ryght pooze, feble & incertayne. For by loue peace & concoorde:small ryches,small lordshyppes, & generally al smal thynges increase and multiplie:by disorde the grettest thynges of the worlde decay and fall vtterly to ruyne. But you my sonne Jugurthe by cause ye passe these myne other two naturall sonnes in age & wysdome,therfore it semeth you moche moze than them:to make suche wyse prouision bothe for your selfe and for them also that nothyng happen other wyse than well. For in euery stryffe & debate howe be it whiche is mightyer & rycher often suffreth iniury. Nevertheless it semeth moze that he dothe wronge thanne his feble aduersary. But ye my dere sonnes Adherball & Hiempsall se that ye worshipe and loue this Jugurth your worthy vncle. And bewar that ye nat offende noz dysplease hym:but folow his vertue & manly behauour. And do your deuoir to the best of your power after his example behauynge your selfe, so discretly & so wysely that

that it be nat hereafter reported by me, that I haue taken vnto me by adoption, better chyldren than I haue begottē. Thus concluded the kyng Micipsa his words Howe be it Jugurth well perceyued the kynges wordes, but fayned and spoken agaynst his herte, if any other remedy myghte haue bene founde: neuertheles he answered benygneley for the tyme, all if he thought and reuolued in his mynde moche otherwyle, and contrary to his humble and mylde answer.

Howe the kyng Micipsa departed from lyfe and of the byt cause of dissencion and discord betwene Jugurth, Adherball and Hiempsall.

The .vii. Chapter.



Not long after the kyng Micipsa decessed whose deathe was dolourous and soze bewayled of all his subiectes: but most of all to his naturall sonnes it was to be lamented, and not without greate cause as the processe of this hystorie shall afterwarde declare. But after the kynges funerall erequies were magnificentlye ended as appertayned to his state royal. The thre princes that is to say Adherball, Hiempsall, & Jugurth anone assembled to the intent to comen and treate of busynesses of the royalline, concernynge partition & separation of the same: and all other thinges conuenient. But whan they shuld sytte and take theyr places in order: Hiempsal yongest of the thre was somewhat fieris of nature, & disposed to statelynesse. And in mynd longe before this time he disdained the ignobilite of Jugurth for asmoche as he was vnlike vnto them of birth touching his mothers side, and a bastard borne, as is said before, wherefore he disdained that the same Jugurthe

c.ii. shulde

## The batayle

Shulde haue the place of moost honoure amonge them, whiche were naturall sonnes of a kinge, and also lawfully borne: and so in contempte of Jugurth he set him selfe downe on the ryght hande his brother Adherball: to thintent that Jugurth shulde not syt in the myddes, bytwene them: whiche rowme the Numidiens count of moost honoure. And afterwarde howe be it his brother Adherball requyred him ofte to giue place to Jugurth bycause of his age: yet bnnethes coude he with moche paine induce hym therto, but at last satygate by requestes of his brother & of other noble men of the realme, he chaunged his place and set hym vpon the other side with countenance declarynge his mynde not contented. And thus at last satte Jugurth for his age in the myddes bitwene them bothe, as in place of moost honoure. Whan the thre prynces were thus sette and had communed of many thinges concernynge the administraction of the kyngdome, amonge many and dyuers other thinges Jugurth sayde, that all the statutes and ordinaunces which the kyng Micipsa had made fyue yeres befoze his deth, ought of congruence to be adnulled as of none effecte. For in that season (as sayde he) bys witte what for age, what for syckenesse was feble, dull and of small valoure. And therfoze suche thinges as he had in that space enacted were done without wysdome or reason. Whan Hiempsall herde Jugurth thus speke he answered sayenge that it pleased him right well that it shuld so be done. For within the same thre yeres (said he) our father Micipsa hath adopted you to his sounne, & in his testament ordained you to be partiner of his kyngdome, whiche was the worst and most vnadvised dede that euer he dyd yonge or olde, toherfoze Jugurthe according



cordyng to poure owne ozdinaunce this must fyrst of al  
 be admulled and broken, whiche done, my brother and  
 I shall not greatly contende for the remenaunt. These  
 woꝝdes of Hiempsal pearced the hart of Jugurth moꝝe  
 pꝛofoundely than any man there thoughte or suspected.  
 Wherfoꝛe frome that tyme foꝛwarde, what foꝛ wꝛathe  
 of these woꝝdes, and foꝛ dꝛede of losse of his poꝛcyon of  
 the kyngdome, his mynde was in great trouble and an  
 guythe. In somoche that from thens foꝛthe he went a-  
 bouthe, pꝛiagyned, ozdained, and onely reuolued in his  
 mind, by what gyle or treasoꝛ Hiempsal might be caught  
 in his daunger. But whan his purpose pꝛoceded but  
 slowly foꝛwarde, considerynge that the fꝛowarde desire  
 and vnreasonable appetite of his mynde coude not be my-  
 tigated noꝛ pacified, he cōcluded to bꝛyng his enterpꝛise  
 to effect by any maner meanes other by pꝛeuꝛe treason  
 and gyle, or els by euꝛdent and open violence & foꝛce of  
 armes. But to retourne agayne to where I lefte In thys  
 first assemble of the thꝛe pꝛinces of whiche I spake be-  
 foꝛe, it pleased them all that the treasoures of kinge Mi-  
 cipsa shulde be deuided among them bicause of this dis-  
 sencion. And also that the marches and boundes of eche  
 of theyꝛ dominions, seuerally shulde be assigned to eche  
 of them bys poꝛcyon, wherfoꝛe the tyme was appoynt-  
 ed and pꝛefixed whanne bothe shulde be doone but  
 the tyme to departe the treasoures was sooner assig-  
 ned than to deuꝛde and limitte the boundes of theyꝛe  
 dominions. This appoyntement made: the pꝛinces de-  
 parted company: the mynde of Jugurth not a lytell in-  
 quieted foꝛ the sayde checke of Hiempsal, foꝛ whiche  
 cause he aboꝛdyed his tyme to reuenge hym.

Hobbe

## The batayle

Howe Jugurth by reason murdered Hiempsall the younger sonne of  
Syringe Micipsa. The. viii. Chapter,



Whan the thre prynces were departed in order, as I haue sayd before they sojourned in sondrye places, & that nere to the towne where the treasure laye. Hiempsall drewe him to a towne named Thirmida not far distant, In whiche towne he had a dwellyng place: thā as happened in the same towne was a man of the gard longing to Jugurth of his lordes ryght derele beloued, and with him greatly in fauour. This seruaunt of Jugurth was moche conuersaunte & familer in y<sup>e</sup> house of Hiempsall, whan Jugurth by chauce remembred this oportunitie to his myscheuous purpose, he called secretly vnto hym his sayde seruaunte. And after many wordes spoken to serche his minde: at last by promesse of large rewarde he induced him to consente to go as if it were to visite the house of Hiempsall: as he had often done before tyme, and by some meanes & craft to counterfayte the keyes of the gates and bynge them vnto hym. For the right keyes (after the gates were locked): nyghtly were delyuered vnto Hiempsall hym selfe: so mought they nat be vnmysted the space of a nyght, whan Jugurth had induced the Numidian to consent to this dede: he promysed hym selfe win shortlye after to come to the sayd lodgyng of Hiempsall what tyme y<sup>e</sup> case shuld requyre: with great power of armed men. The Numidian in shortlye tyme perfourmed the commaundemente of Jugurth, in somoche that he brought vnto hym the counterfayted keyes: as he had apoynted. Jugurth here of was gladd in mynde: and anone prepared secretly a greate

great company of armed men: whome he commaunded to bringe vnto him the heed of Hiempsal trenched from the body & in executynge of this dede he commaunded them al to be ruled by the Numidian which had counterfayted the keys. This done the sayd Numidian conuayed these armed men preuily by nyght into the house of Hiempsal, lyke as he was infourmed by Jugurth. Whan this tratoure satellyte was entred with his company & had broken into the inwarde edifices: diuers of them serched for the prince Hiempsal: som murdered his seruauntes as they lay slepence in theyr beddys suspectynge no suche treason: some other a wakened with the dynne, stert vp & mette theyr enemyes defendynge them selfe but al in vayne: for they had no leysler to arme the selfe And therfore were they slayne anone vnarmed, of men armed & apointed to myschefe: whan the treatours had longe sought Hiempsal and myght nat fynde hym than serched they more nerely euery hyd corner, and secret close places they braste open: all was full of dynne mengled with noyse and clamour: So moche they sought and so nerely: that at last they founde out Hiempsal hyd in the cotage of a pooze seruyng woman to whiche place he had fled at begynnynge of this affraye: as a man astonyed for drede and ignorant of the place. Anone as the Numidians had foude him they fiewe him without any meeri. And as they were commaunded cutte of his hed & brought the same to Jugurth: but shortly after & fame of this cruell & tyzannous dede was diuulgate & ouer spzed all the landes of Affrike: Adherball and all they whiche were vnder subieccion of Scipia whyle he lyued: were soze troubled and abasthed with fere for this tyzannous crueltie of Jugurth. The Numidians anone



## The batayle

none dyded themselfe into two parties. The moost part drew and leaned to Adherball, but suche as were most manly and best to batayle drew them to the other parte: and leaned to Jugurth. Wherfore he made redy as great an armie as he myght ioininge vnto him and bringing vnder his subieccion the towne and cities of Numidi: some by violence, & some other by theyr owne volūtary will. Insomoch that finally he kept vnder his subieccion and bondage the hole lande of Numidy. But notwithstanding that Adherbal had sent embassadours to Rome: to certify the senatours of y<sup>e</sup> deth of his brother how cowardly he was murthered, & also to informe the of his owne miserable fortune & in what case he was neuer thelesse he made himselfe redy to fyght with Jugurth as he which had trust & confidence in multitude of his souldoyours assembled redy to batayle.

Howe Jugurth overcame Adherball in battayl and putte hym to flyght howe Adherball fledde to Rome to complayne to the senatours: and howe Jugurth accloped wth rewardes many of the rulers of Rome: by whose fauour hys crueltie was defended. The. ix. Chapter.



owe had Jugurth assembled hys hoost redy vnto batayle, not lyke in multitude of the company of Adherbal: but as I sayd before moche bolder better experte and exercised in warre. On the other partie Adherball had his people redy apointed, & both the armyes approached togider. But whan they ioyned batayle, & whan it came to byckerynge: that the matter must be tryed with strokes. None Adherball was vanquished: and to saue his life fledde from the batayle into a prouince marchynge on the land of Numidi: & from thens with all hast sped him vnto Rome to complayne his miserable fortune, & to requyre socours, as I shall after warde declare. But  
than

thā Jugurth whē he had al the land of Numidy at his pleasure, counsellēd w<sup>th</sup> his frendes of many thinges. At conclusion: whan he considred himself that he had slaine Hiempsall and chased Adherball out of his kingdome whan he was ydle & at rest: he oftē secretly reuolued in mynd his owne crueltie: soze dredying whāt punisshment y<sup>e</sup> Romans wold ordeine agaynst y<sup>e</sup> same. Nor agaynst the ire & displeasure of the Romans had he none other hope nor conforzte, saue in the couetyse of the noble men of Rome, and in thabundaunce of his treasure: wherewith he trusted to corrupte the rulers of Rome to be fauorable to him. This considred within fewe dayes after he sent to Rome embassadours with moche golde & siluer to whome he gaue in commaundement: that first of al they shuld satisfy his olde frendes with rewardes and money, and thā to spare no gyftes to get vnto him mo new frendes. And brefely that they shulde not spare nor tary to procure vnto him fauourers & maintainers of his part: and all thinges for his auantage by gyftes & promisses. But after these embassadours were come to Rome: accordyng to the cōmaundement of they<sup>r</sup> king they gaue & sent to his acquayntaunce and frendes, and to suche as among the senatours: at that time had most authorite: large and great rewardes. In somoche that anone among thē was so great a chaunge that the maruelous enuy, hatred & euyl wil: which they had agaynst Jugurth was al chaunged into fauour & grace among the noble men. Of whome some wer so induced by gyftes receyued: & some other by hop<sup>r</sup> of bypbes in tyme to come: that they went about among the senatours from one to one labouryng & intreatyng that at that season nothyng shuld be extremely nor greuously determined

D.i. agaynst

*James [unclear] [unclear]*

## The batayle

against Jugurth. Thus after the embassadours of Jugurth hadde confidence and trust ynough in theyr cause they laboured to haue a day apointed to apeare in courte. The day of apearauce was graunted as wel to them as to Adherball: to Adherball as playntife, and to the embassadours as defendentes for Jugurth: whan the daye assigned was come bothe the parties appered in courte befoze the senatours, than after audience graunted Adherball began to speke vnder forme folowynge, for complainte and declaracion of his iniuries and oppression,

There / asuech the oration of Adherball, deuysed in some deliberatiue: in whiche he exhorte the senatours to commaunde socours and ayde to be assigned vnto hym, prouynge the same to be profitabile honest and easy to the Romanes to do: profitable: that he myght continue a frende vnto the empyre of Rome: honest, for his father and graunfather hadde so deserved: easy to be done, for the Romanes at that tyme had no other warres els whers,

The .i. Chapter.

**M**ost discrete chosen fathers and noble senatours, Scipia my father at houre of his deeth commaunded me that I shoulde thinke nought els of the land of Numidie: to apercaine to me, saue onely the rule and adynistration of the same, affirmynge that the title of possession and empire of the same belonged to you and to the people of Rome. Moreover he gaue me in commaundemente to do my deuoure, to be vnto you seruisable aboue all thinges, both in place and warre. And that I shoulde count you vnto me in place of kynsmen: and next frendes of alyauce. Chaienge that if I so dyd: that by your amite and frendshyppe, I shuld fynde socoure riches and defence of the kyngdome of Numidy, and of me and myne all tymes of nede, whiche preceptes of my



my father: whyle I caste in mynde to obserue: sodayn-  
lye Jugurthe the moost cruell and cursed of all men  
whome the grounde susteyneth: dyspysnge youre em-  
pyre: hath dyruen me frome youre kyngdome and  
frome all my other goodes of fortune: nothyng regar-  
dyng that I am newew of Massinissa, and by myne  
auncestry a felow and frende of the empyre and peo-  
ple of Roome. But certaynlye worthy and chosen  
fathers: sythe I am come to that myserye that necessity  
constrayneth me to desyre youre ayde and suc-  
cours: I wolde moche rather that I myghte call for  
your helpe: for myne owne merytes agaynst you  
doone: than for the merytes of my forefathers: and  
that by suche meanes of myne owne deservynge: youre  
benefytes and socours were due vnto me, whiche  
wolde God that I neded not at all: but yf this youre  
socours myghte los of you be desyred by my merytes  
and deservynge, than shulde I call boldlye to you: and  
yse youre socours of duetye as myne auncestrye haue  
daone in tymes passed. But nowe sythe it is soo, that  
honeste lyfe and innocencye: in thys worlde fyndeth  
lytell surenesse by theim selfe wythoute protection of  
some other. Moreouer syth it was not in my power  
to mitigate nor to withstande this tyrannous iniurye  
of Jugurthe. Therfore chosen fathers I am nowe  
fled vnto you as to my chefe refuge, coarted to neces-  
sitye to requyre youre socours and constrayned to put  
you to besynes and charge: before I haue done anye  
pleasure or profete vnto you: whiche thyng greued me  
moost of all, and is one of my gretest myseryes.

Wght worthy senatours other kynges haue ben recei-  
ued into your frendshyp & fauoure after ye haue ouerco-

## The batayle

them in battayle, or els perceyuinge them selfe in danger and in doubtfull chaunces of fortune, they haue coueited and desyred your feloweshype and fauour, rather for theyr owne wele than for yours. But moch contraryely: our forefathers and rote of our linage. Masinissa confederated hymselfe with the people of Rome in the secōd bataile of Carthage, what tyme was moze faythfulnes to be trusted in the & theyr good wil, the of welth or riches to be obtained of the Romans; beinge at that tyme assayled with warre on euery side, theyr riches and treasours consumed by often batayles. Thus it is euident that our auncestry confederat not themself to your felowship for their owne defence, in hope of dominion: nor for any other priuate profet, but onely for fauour & loue whiche they had vnto your empire, wherfore noble senatours suffre not the progeny and bzaunches of his stocke to be destroyed. Suffer not me which am newew of your trusty frēd Masinissa to aske of you helpe and socoure in vaine. But prudent fathers, if it were so that I had none other cause to demaūd socours of you, saue onely this miserable fortune wherewith I am oppressed, that I whiche was lately a kynge by lyneall discent: myghty of auncestry: excellent and clere of fame, habundaunte in riches, and of men of armes: and and now disformed by miserable calamite, pooze & needy, so that I am constrained to seke helpe and socours of other men: if I had none other mater whercof to complaine, saue this miserable fortune onely. Neuertheles it longeth and is conueniente to the magesty of the people of Rome, to prohibite and to withstaude iniurpe, nat to suffer the kyngedome or dominion of anye man to ryle and increase by fallhode and mischeuous tyrannye.

nye. And the ryght heires agaynst right, agaynst iustice and agaynst reason, to be excluded from theyr true heritage. But verely I am excluded and cast forth of that countrey, which the Romaines in time passed gaue vnto my forefathers: out of the which countrey my father and grandfather accompayned with your army & helpe haue chased the kyng Siphax, and also the Carthaginences, bothe moost violente enmyes to the empyre of Rome. Your benefites be spoyled fro me: In this myne iniurye be ye dyspysed: Wo is me miserable exulate: Alas my dere father, Micipsa, are youre good dedes and kyndnesses against Jugurth come to this poynte and conclusion: that he before all other shoulde namelye be dystroyer of your lynage and chyl dren: whome ye haue made felowe with your owne sonnes: and also partiner of youre kyngedome: alas than shall oure stocke and household neuer be quyet: Shal we alway be tossed and turned in effusion of blode, and, in batayle, in exyle and in chaling from our countrie.

While the Carthaginences reigned in prosperite, we suffered and that patiently, and not vnderferued al cruelte & veration. For then were our enemies on every side of vs: our frendes in whome we shulde haue found socoure at tyme of nede were ferre disioyned and separate from vs. Thus all our hope: all our trust was in oure strength and armoure. But nowe after that pestilente dystuction of the Carthaginences is chased and casten out of affrike we continued a tyme ioyfull & quiet: passinge oure life in peace and tranquillite, for why we had no ennemy: excepte paraduenture for any iniury done agaynst you ye wolde commande vs to take youre enemy for ours also as reason and ryghte requyred.



## The batayle

But now sodainly & vnboarely to vs: this Jugurth ex-  
alting him selfe by his intollerable audacite, by cruelte  
& pride hath first slaine my brother & his own nere kins-  
man Hiempsalt: & in augmenting his mischefe hath v-  
surped to him as in pray my brothers part & porcion of  
the kingdome of Numidy, & after: seing that he mighte  
not take me lyke maner of trayne as he had done my  
brother, what tyme I doubted nothing lesse than any vi-  
olence or bataile in the kingdō whiche I holde of you,  
he hath chased me (as ye maie se) out of your kingdome  
and hath made me as an abiect outlaw: chased fro my  
cōsūtrey: and dwelling place, oppressed with pouertye, &  
laded with miseries. In so moch that I maie be i more  
surety & saue garde in any place of the worlde, than in  
owne natife countrey & kingdome, whiche I holde of  
you. Forsooth worthy senatours: I haue euer thought in  
like maner as I haue oftentimes herd my father Mi-  
cipia openly repozte with sadnesse: saieng y they whiche  
shulde dyligentlye continue in youre frendship by theyr  
merites must take great labours at many tynes vpon  
themselfe in your causes: but of all men they were most  
sure from intury of any man. And sothely all my linage  
hath done as mouch as in them was at your desyres:  
And euer hath ben redy in all batails and nedes to as-  
syst you. Wherfore if ye folow the precepts of gratitude,  
if ye bere in remembraunce these merites of myne aun-  
cestrey, it is both right & honesty y in this myne extreme  
necessite, ye ayde and socoure me and restore me againe  
to quietnesse, whyle ye haue none othere businesse in  
hands, whiche maye be to youe impedimēte in this en-  
terpryse. Most discrete fathers: more brefely and cler-  
ly to declare vnto you my complaint and my miseries.

And

And also to certifie youre excellence moore playnlye of myne vnnaturall and vnkynde kynseman Jugurth: and of his cruelte. It is not vnknewen vnto youre maiestie: that my father Micipsa after his departing: lefte behynde him vs two brethren his naturall and laufull sonnes: supposynge that by his benefites and merites Jugurth shulde be ioyned wyth vs, as thyzde brother. But alas: muche contrary the one of vs is murdred by this cruell Jugurthe, blynded by insaciabie ambition and desyre of dominion. And I my selfe the second brother scar selfe and wyth greate difficulte haue escaped his cruell and vnmerefull handes, what maye I doo: or whether shall I rathest flee for conforzte unhappye exulate thus desolate and infortunate as I am: All the socours all the comforzte, of my stocke and kindred is extincte by dethe, my grandfather Massinissa, and my father Micipsa: as necessite hath constrayned them: haue payed the generall tribute of nature: delyuered frome these mundayne veracions by naturall deth. My nere kynsman Jugurth: moch otherwoyse thā it be came him to doo: hath cursedlye berefte my brother of his lyfe by tyranny and myscheuous couetise of dominion: mine other kinsmen by consanguinite and affinite: with mine other frendes by his cruelte bene also oppzessed or put to dethe, some by one meanes and some by other: some of them be taken captiue: some put to shamefull death of gybet, galous, or crosse, wyth most cruel tourmēt: some be casten to wyld and rauenous beastes to be deuoured of the. A fewe which ar left with theyr lyues ar closed i dongions & darkenes: passig theyr miserable liues in mournig & wayling moze greuous thā dethe. Thus am I inuitoned w anguish on euery side, But if it were

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so that all these socours whiche I haue lost by crueltie of Jugurth: or if all thinges which be turned to me, fro prosperite to aduersite, remained to this hour hole without detriment or damage lyke as they were in my best estate, yet certainly noble senatours: if any yll or misfortune prouided shuld happen to me: I durst be bolde to call your ayde and conforzte. Bycause it semeth you to haue cure of right and wrong belongyng to euery man consydyng the excellent magnitude & gretnes of your empire, and to suffer no vertue unrewarded, or vice unpunished, and finally no wretch oppressed to continue vndefended. But now moost of all syth I am exulate fro my natife countrey, from the kyngdome which my father ruled vnder you, and from my owne house & dwel lyng place: also neddy and poore of all thinges belongyng to myne estate and alone without company or defence, to whome or to what place may I resorte, or in whom may I call: for ayde or conforzte in these my manifolde miseries. Shall I resorte or call for socours of nations, or of kynges adiacent and aboute the lande of Numidy, alas I shulde ytell preuayle or nought at al. Sith al they for your amite ioyned with you, be mortal ennemies to vs & to oure linage: maye I resorte to any contrey aboute vs: but that I shulde fynde there many tokens of crueltie of warre, which my fathers haue don in theyr times passed in your causes. Whether shall any of them whiche haue bene olde ennemies, haue mercy or compassion on vs nowe in this extremite. But finally most noble senatours, my father Micipsa thus ordered vs at his departinge: and gaue vs in commaundement that we shulde obserue noz mentayne the frendshyppe of none other king noz people, saue onely of the people



people of Rome: and that we shuld seke no new felowshyp, nor new confederacions or bondes of conoord, sayeng that in your frendshyp and helpe: we shulde finde great socours & ayde and that largely. But if it shulde fortune that the welth of this your empire shuld fall into ruyne or change from this excellence (which the goddes defende) then: sayde he that we and our kingdome of necessite shulde also decay togyther with you. But nowe lauded be the goddes by whose helpe and fauour and by your owne strength & vertue: ye be at this tyme myghty and riche: al thyng to you is prosperous and to your comaundement obeyng. Wherfore it is so moche more laufull easy and conueniente to you to take cure & charge in redressynge thiniuries done to youre frendes and felowes. I am onely in drede and dout of this one thyng, lest the frendshipe and singuler fauoure of Jugurth: not parfetyly knownen as he is worthy: do induce the mindes of some to parcialite against Iustice & right. I here & vnderstande that suche labour with all theyr myght for fauour of Jugurth goynge aboute from man to man, praing and intreating w moche solitudine many of you aparte by one and one, desirynge and requyring you to determine nothyng against Jugurth while he is absent, and the matter and cause not knownen perfetly: I here suche persons corrupt with parcialitie and fauour objectinge secretly agaynst me, and sayeng that I fayne and ymagine these wordes to accuse Jugurth vnderferyngly, and that I fayne to be chased forthe of my lande by hym: where as I might surelye ynoughe haue remayned within y kyngdome of Numidy. That wold god I might se once the cursed & vnkind kinsman of mine Jugurth, by whose vnnmerciful & cruel dedes I

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am castē in these miseries, in such case: y he wer faining  
y same thinges vnder like maner as I faine thē at this  
time: & wold god I might ones se hi as truely without  
fayning driuen out the land of Numidy, as I am now  
chased fro the same by his cruelty: & wold god y at last  
other ye oz els y immortal goddes wold so carefoz y bu-  
sineses & troubles of vs miserable mē in erth: y the same  
Jugurth which now bereth himselfe proud of his listull  
dedes shewinge himselfe & coūting hi noble onely bicau-  
se he escapeth vnpunished for his sinne & cruelte: might  
therfoze suffer greuous punishmēt w all my miseries &  
other mischeues & yls, acordig to his deseruing: for his  
vmerciful cruelte shewed against our father Micipsa  
i murdzig of my dere brother Hiempsal, & chasig me for-  
th of my natife coūtre: thus oppressed w al miseries i ex-  
treme necessite. O my brother my brother Hiempsal most  
dere to my hart of al creatures: how be it now thy life  
is berefte y in thy flourig youth, lōg befoze thy natural  
hour of deth and y by cruelte of him, whō it semed not of  
al mē so to haue done: neuertheles me thiketh i my mind  
this chance of thy deth moze to be ioyed of: thā to be so-  
rowed. For y hast not onely lost thy life & thy kingdom  
but also y hast escaped this chasig, this flight, this exile  
this ned, this pouerty, w al other wretchednesses & mise-  
ries, which oppresseth me wout confort oz socours. But  
I unhappy & miserable exulate thus throwē downe fro  
my fathers kingdome into so many yls & so greate my-  
series, may wel be an example & spectacle to al y world  
of the mutable courses wherein fortune turneth man-  
kinde. O my dere brother vncertayne am I what I  
doo: whyther I thus distitute of socour & ayde: maye  
persecute and reuenge thy iniuries and thy deth: oz els  
whether I may prouide & seke socours for recoueringe.

of the land of Numidy. I am in that case: that my life & death dependeth in the socour of other men, wold god I were dead out of hande: yf death mighte be an honeste conclusion of these my miserable misfortunes: rather than to be counted as contente & pleased to lyue in rebuke, and shame, as an exulate werped and overcome with iniures: and giuenge place to the iniust cruelte of tyrannous persecucion, and not able nor bolde to resiste the same. But nowe certaynly it is against my wyl that I liue, for in my life I haue no likinge nor pleasure, & yet can I not dye without dishonour. Wherfore moost prouidente fathers and noble senators: these premisses considered: I obtest and humbly requyre you: in honour of the goddess immortal: for the aunciente amite betwene you & my forefathers: for the natural loue which ye haue against your children and parentes, and by the magestie of the people of Rome, & this your most excellent empire, haue pite of my manifold calamities & socour this my miserie. Resist this tirāous dealyng & iniury of Jugurth comitted not onely against my wretched persō, but also against you & your empire. Suffre not y<sup>e</sup> kingdō of Numidy, which is youre owne, to decay & be destroyed by cruel tirāny of Jugurth, & by the effusio of blod & murdre of y<sup>e</sup> linage of Massinissa, somtyme most faythfull and constant friend of this your empire.

How the embassadours of Jugurth replied against these wordes of Adherbal, & what direction was taken for bothe parties of the Senators of Rome.

The .xi. Chapter



After y<sup>e</sup> Adherbal in forme aboue writen had ended his cōplaint, anone y<sup>e</sup> embassadours of Jugurth arose & answered brefely in few wordes as they whiche had more trust and confidence in they<sup>r</sup> greate giftes giuen befoore to manye of the rulers of



## The batayle

Rome: than in any right of theyr cause & thus they replied in effecte: sayeng befoze the senatours that Hiempsall was slayne of the Numidians for his owne hastyness & cruelte, and not by knowlege of Jugurth: and as touchyng Adherba: he began warre agaynst Jugurth of his owne froward mynde without any occasion: but after he was overcome in batayle, bycause he was not able to reuenge him self, nor to make his partie good, he fled vnto Rome to complayne hym to the senatours of Jugurth: where al y<sup>e</sup> faulte was in himselfe & in none other, concernyng the partie of Jugurth: they requyred the senatours in his behalfe in his absence to count him none other, than he was proued & knowen in the warre of Numance: & that they wold not set moze by the wordes of his enemy, than by his dedes magnificently proued. This saide: anone after: bothe parties departed in sonder from the court. Immediately the Senatours toke counsell what best was to be done in the cause. The fauourers of Jugurth & of his embassadours, and moze ouer a great part of the Senatours wer corrupt befoze by parcialite, fauour, and rewardes of Jugurth, & so deprouat: that they contemned & set at nought y<sup>e</sup> wordes of Adherball, exalting & comendynge the manhode of Jugurth: with laude, fauour, countenance, voyce, & all other signes: And so finally they laboured by al maner of meanes for an other myscheuous vice & cruell crime to defende the same: as if it had ben in defence of theyr owne honoz, worthyp, & honeste. But on the other part were a fewe other, whiche set moze by iustice & honeste, than by false gotten riches: these counselled to socour Adherbal & sharply to punishe & reuēge the death of Hiempsall. But amonge al other of this opinion: was one named

med Emilius Scaurus a man of noble byrth redy to  
 disturbe euery busynes, debatfull & besye: desirous of  
 power, of authorite, of honour & of riches: but crafty in  
 cloking of these his fautes. After this Emili<sup>9</sup> Scaur<sup>9</sup>  
 sawe his gyueng of byrbes of Jugurth so shamfully &  
 openly knowen the fered lest þ corruption of the Sena-  
 tours and head rulers of Rome might ingendze enuie,  
 debate and slaughter betwene them and the commons,  
 lyke as in suche cases often had fortunied in tymes be-  
 fore. Wherefore in this consideracion, he refrained his  
 mynde at this tyme from his accustomed vnlawful lu-  
 stes. Neuertheles among the Senatours in this coun-  
 sell the wooste parte preuayled: and that part which set  
 more by fauour and rewarde, then by right and equi-  
 tie, ouercame the other part, whiche labored to sustaine  
 the ryght without any fauour or parcialitie. And so the  
 fauozers of Jugurthe optayned their purpose, and bys  
 crueltie had no punyshment. Neuertheles it was con-  
 cluded and decreed that .x. embassadours shuld be sente  
 into Numidie to deuide the kingdome which longed to  
 Micipsa betwene Jugurth and Adherbal. The princi-  
 pal of this ambassad was one named Lucius Opimus  
 a man of noble fame, of greate authoritie and power a-  
 monge the Senatours in those daies: what tyme Cai-  
 us Gracchus and Marcus Fuluius great fauozers of  
 the comens: were slaine of the noble men of Rome for  
 the same cause. After victorie of the noble men againste  
 the comons & the same two princes: this L. Opimus en-  
 raged greuously with rigoros & sharpe inquisicions &  
 examinacions against the poze comontie: and was one  
 of the chiefe oppressors of them. What tyme this L. Opi-  
 mus with his companie was come to Numidye: Ju-  
 gurth

## The batayle

Jugurth prepared to attempt his old craftes: and howe be it he thā found the same Lucius for one of his enemies at Rome, neuertheles he receiued him woorthipfulli and with great diligence. And with giuyng & promising many thinges he brought his purpose so to effect, that this Lucius at cōclusion preferred the fauour & profit of Jugurth before his owne good name & fidelitie: and briezly before al thinges belōging to him self. This brought to pas: anone he went in hand with other of the ambassadours after the same way: and manye of thē he won & ouercame with giftes. Verry fewe of thē which set more by their faith and truthe, then by money & rewardes of Jugurth. Wherfore whan it was come to limitacion & separacion of the land of Numidy, betwene Adherball and Jugurth as the saide embassadours were cōmaunded of the Senatours: that part of the kingdom which marched toward Mauritanie, or the land of the Mauriens beyng most opulent and plentifull of fruitful fildes & of men was giuen to Jugurth: but the other part which was more plesaunt thē profitable as ornat with out hauen townes and faire edifices, was cōmitted to possession of Adherball. Now for asmuch as in this history before and most of all in sequele and proces of the same, hath and shal be made mencion of many places & townes of Affrike: to thintent that this story mai be more clere and euident, I thinke it requisite and conueniente briezly to describe the situacion of Affrike, & a lytle to touche those people and countreis, which with the Romans had at any time amitie or frindship, other peace or war. But such places and nations which for heate & wildernes be lytle frequenced of people, or not inhabited: of them that is not easie to describe nor declare the  
truthe



truth: for by difficulty of þ places, few or none resorteth  
thither perfectly to know þ same. But the other parts fre-  
quented of peple, I shal briefly declare as cā be touched.

**C** The description of the habitable parties of the countrey of Affrike,  
namely of such nations as had amitie or warre w<sup>th</sup> the Romaynes.  
The. xii. Chapter.

**I**n division of the circle of the worlde the opini-  
on of most w<sup>riters</sup> is, that it is divided into thre  
partes: Europe, Asie, & Affrike. A few other au-  
thors hold opinion, that it is divided only into. ij. parts  
that is to say, Asie and Europe: so that vnder climate of  
that part which is called Europe, the third part named  
Affrike is cōprehēded. But this last opinion is leest al-  
lowed. This countrey of Affrike hath his bondes on the  
see of Italy on the West part, and on the ocean see it a-  
bordeth partly on þ same side, on the Est part therof is  
a declining and pendant valey ryght ample and large  
Chinhabytaūtes of this valey call it Cathabathmon  
in theyr affrike langage: that is to say in englysch, a de-  
pendāt valey. On this Est syde: the see is outragious  
cruel, perillous & without any sure haven: but the fylde  
and soyle on this part ar plentyfull of corne, and for al  
maner beestes is good pasture, but the soyle is nat apt  
to tres bearing frute: of water is scarcite, both of rain wa-  
ter & of water springing of þ erth. The disposicio of þ peo-  
ple is holsome of body, swyft, & may wel endure labour  
In somoche that the most part dye for extreme age, laue  
such as be slayne w<sup>th</sup> wepyn, or deuoured of wyld bea-  
stes. For it is not often sene þ corruption of humors in  
gendring any infirmite byngeth to deth. In this cō-  
trei be also many rauynous beestes & of diuers kyndes  
deuou.

## The batayle

denouringe all thinges whiche they maye ouercome,  
But this omittinge I wyll now brefely declare what  
maner people firſte of all inhabited this countrey of Af-  
rike & what people thither reſorted to inhabite nexte af-  
ter the. And howe y<sup>e</sup> ſame peoples wer mingled togyder.  
Howe be it that whiche I ſhall write is moche diuers  
from the comen ſame and opinion of many men : ne-  
uertheleſſe, I ſhall folowe the bokeſ written in Affrike  
langage which as it is ſayd belonged to y<sup>e</sup> yong prince  
Hiempſall: whome Jugurth inurdered, of the ſame bo-  
keſ I ſhall folowe the true interpretation in this ma-  
ter, and lyke as the inhabitauntes of the ſame countrey  
affirme to be true. But touchynge the very credence of  
the truthe of the mater I reporte that to the authours.  
¶ The firſt people which inhabited the countrey of Af-  
rike were named Getulians and Libians, a people  
harde, ſharpe and bmanerd. Theſe lyued of fleſhe of  
wylde beaſtes, and fedde vpon the grounde as beaſtes  
vncereſonable. And were not ruled by any maners, but  
lyued without lordes oz lawes, as vagabundes & ro-  
uers. They had no certayne bydinge place, but wher as  
the night toke the ther they reſted for the tyme. But af-  
ter that Hercules died in Hiſpain as the Affricans ſay,  
his armye whiche was aſſembled of dyuers nations,  
whan their captayne and heede was loſt : diſperſed the  
abrode anone after his deth, and came to dyuers pla-  
ces of the world to ſeke theyr fortune, wher they might  
optaine any habitacion oz lordſhypp. Of whiche com-  
pany the Medeanſ, Perſeanſ, and Armenians arri-  
ued wyth their ſhyppes in that cooſt of Affrike, whiche  
was nereſt to the empire of Rome, and longe tyme af-  
ter occupied thoſe coſtes. But y<sup>e</sup> Perſians inhabited the

ſel-

self moze inward in þ cuntries toward the ocean sea, & in  
 stede of houses thei turned their ships botoms bpward  
 & dwelled vnder the same. And no marueil, for in þ cun-  
 trei about thē grew no timber nor other stufte mete for  
 building, nor of þ Spaniards which inhabited next to  
 thē might they nether bie nor borrowe. For þ sea was so  
 gret & tēpestuous between thē, & their lāgages so diuers  
 & vnknown to either people, þ by these. ii. impedimentes  
 they wer letted frō þ cours of marchādise or exchanges  
 between thē. These Persiēs by mean of mariages by ly-  
 tle & litle migled þ Getuliās with thē, & bicause thei pro-  
 ued oftētimes þ comoditie of their ground & fildes, by of-  
 ten cōmutaciōs & changings one w other, at last thei na-  
 med thē selfe Numidiās, that is to say herdmē diuided.  
 And to this presēt day þ cotages or tylmens houses be  
 made long w croked sides or couerturs bowing iward  
 as if thei wer belies of ships trāsuerled or turned bp set  
 downe. Touching þ Medes & Armeniens thei ioyned  
 thē self w the Libiēs. For þ Medes and Armeniens  
 dwelled befoze moze nere to þ sea of Affrike. The Getu-  
 liās inhabited moze nere to þ sunne rising: not far frō the  
 feruēt cuntry of Inde, & this peple anone had roumes  
 & dwelling places, for þ sea bitwene thē & Spaine was  
 but narrow, wherfoze they agreed w the Spaniards to  
 make exchāges & bargins of merchādise with thē. The  
 Libiēs corrupted their name by litle & litle changing þ  
 same, & at last in sted of Medes, named thē selfe Mau-  
 riēs by barbarike pnūciacion of their lāgage. But the  
 welth & riches of the Persiēs in short tyme increased &  
 multiplied. In somoch þ after they had named thē selfe  
 Numidiās, thei icreased in so gret multitude: that they  
 fyrst cōtrey was not able to nozyshe thē al. So þ after



## The batayle

ward many of þ̃ yong & lusty people departed in sonder  
frō theyꝝ frindes & left their cuntrey, resorting to a cun-  
try nere þ̃ citie of Carthage, vacāt at þ̃ tyme. In which  
cūtrei they inhabited thē selfe & named it Numidy after  
their name. Shortly after this: both they which remay-  
ned stil in their first cūtrei & these which remoued thēce  
assisted one an other with al maner help & socour. In so  
much þ̃ what by strength & what by feare they brought  
vnder theyꝝ subiecciō & dominiō suche other nations as  
marched nere thē: so þ̃ within short tyme they much in-  
haūced & augmented their name and gloꝝy, but namely  
they which inhabited þ̃ part of Affrike, which is ouer a  
gainst Italy & nere þ̃ Italian sea, these most icreased in  
welth & honoz. For þ̃ Libiens were not so good men of  
war as þ̃ Getuliās oz Numidiās. And so al the inward  
part of Affrike was for þ̃ most parte in possession of the  
Numidians, & so much dyd they: þ̃ al the nations of thē  
subdued, wer called Numidians after þ̃ name of ouer-  
comers. Now haue we declared how þ̃ Getulians & Li-  
biēs wer first inhabitātes of Affrike: & how the Berse-  
ans, Medeās, & Armeniens came afterward & ioyned  
w thē. How the Berseans named thēselfe Numidians.  
And þ̃ Medeās & Armeniens by corrupciō of langage  
wer called Mauriens. And now cōsequently I shal de-  
clare what other peple came afterward & inhabited the  
same land of Affrike. After al these naciōs befoze reher-  
sed, out of þ̃ land of Phenice cam much peple to inhabit  
thē selfe in Affrike. Some bicause theyꝝ owne cuntrey  
was not sufficiēt to sustaine so grete a multitude as wer  
of thē. And other some great men of birth & desirous of  
lordship raised vp & assēbled þ̃ nedy cōmen people & left  
their owne cūtrei: in hope to fynd some other greter do-  
miniō

miniõ els where, & in proces of tyme arriued at þ land of Affrike: & there builded thre cities vpon the sea coast named Hippona, Adzumentu & Leptis: w other diuers cyties, but not so gret and famous as these were. These cities in short tyme wer so augmented & increled þ some of the wer honour, and some socour & ayd to their oziginal cūtries. But of the citie of Carthage whiche also by the was bylded: & afterward became þ hed citie of Affrike, I thinke it is better to pas ouer with silence, thā of it to speke a litel & thā to leue þ matter in the myds vnperfet and also this my busines procedeth to an other purpose. Neuertheles some what shal I touch the fyrst foundaciõ of this citi: of Carthage, not folowing mine authoz Salust: which wzteth nothing therof: but folowing the opiniõ of Virgil as he wzteth in þ first boke of Eneas. **T**he quene Dido doughter of Belus kyng of þ land of Cipre & wiue to Sicheus king of Phenice, fled wyth her thysps laded w gold & other riches out of her owne cūtre: dzeding the cruelte of her bzother Pigmalio whiche blinded by couetise and ambicion had slayne her husband Sicheus by tresõ. This Dido at last arriued with her thysps & cõpani at the coast of Affrike, wher reigned a king named Hierbas: which moued w beaute of Dido, desired her to wiue. But for loue whiche she had to her first husbād Sicheus she wold not cõsent therto by any meanes: but desired to bie of þ same kyng as much groude as might be cõpased about w the hide of a bul. And after þ it was graūted, she cut the hide so smal that with the same she cõpased .iij. myle of groude about. In which space she buylded a citie, which first was named Birsā, after in pres of tyme it was called Tiro, & last of al Carthage. Under which name bi long cõtinaūce

### The batayle

so amply it encreased in fame & welth, that it contained  
xxiii. miles in compasse. But whā it was in most excel-  
lence it was vtterly destroyed bi the Romans, Publius  
Scipio Affrican: y tyme being captayne of y Romaine  
armye. Touching y foundation of this famous citie of  
Carthage, so moch haue I writtē more than mine au-  
thour Salust. But now wil I returne to mine institute  
& purpose concerning y discripcion of Affrike, & bze-  
fely bzing it to cōclusion. The valey of whō I spake before  
named in Affricke langage Cathahathmō, deuided the  
cōntrey of Affrike frō Egypt on y side, saue that an ar-  
me of y see is bitwene y first citie or habitaciō of Affrik  
toward this valey, & is called Cirene. And nere to the  
same be other two cities, y one named Colonia y other  
Thercō: beiond these thre cities be two quicksādes & by  
tween both y sādēs a cite named Leptis. Beyond this ci-  
te of Leptis is a place named of y Romans Phyleno-  
rū, in english, y auters of two bzethern called Philenis  
bicause these two bzethern suffred thē selfe to be quicke  
buried in y same place for y commē wele of their cōntre  
wherof this tozy herafter shal be writtē at more oportu-  
nite. This place diuideth y dominiō of Carthage from  
Egypt on y side. After this place on y side costs be other  
cities belonging to y dominiō of Duntke. All the places  
from thens forth to Mauritany or land of the Mauri-  
ens, be vnder subieccō of y Numidiāns. The Mauri-  
ens haue theyr habitacion nere to Hispaine. But as we  
rede, y Getuliāns haue theyr habitaciō beiond y Numi-  
diās: some in pore lodgis: & some other more vilely w-  
out habitaciō wandring as vagabūdes. Beyond these  
Getuliās is y land of Ethiopē: & frō thens forth be cōn-  
treis so bzent w feruour of the sōne y they be inhabita-  
ble



ble. But durig this war bitwene þ Romaïs & Jugurth the Romains had i their possessiō many townes of Punike & much of the costes of thēpire of Carthage : & ruled þ same by officers vnder thē therto assigned. A gret part of Numidy & of the Getulians vnto a flode named Muluchā: was vnder the dominiō of Jugurth. Ouer al þ Mauriās raigned one kinge named Bocchus of whō the Romaïs had no knowledgē saue of his name only. And befoze this bataile, he was nother in peace nor in war acquainted nor knowē of the Romains. Of Affrik & of thinhabitantes of the same, ynough is spoken, & as muche as is requisite of necessite to the procelle of this hystory. Nowe wyll I make regression and prosecute my first purposed mater insuing mine authour Salust.

Howe Jugurth inuaded the kingdome of Adherball yet ones agayne and howe Adherball agayne was overcome in batayle: and put to fyght.

The. xlii. Chapter.



fter the embassadours of Rome : of whom I haue spokē befoze, had deuided þ realme of Numidy bytwene Adherbal & Jugurth, & wer departed out of Affricke toward Rome : anone Jugurth reuolued in mynd hobo he had escaped vnpunished for his crueltie otherwoise thā his mind feared befoze: And hobo i sted of punishemēt for his sine: he was rewarded to the better part of the land of Numidy. Nowe he considered þ al was true which his frēdes had told him befoze whyle he was in Hispaine to the Romaine armie in the war of Numāce: þ is to saye. That nothing was so falsse & iniust : but þ myghte be iustified at Rome for money, for all thinge mighte be bought ther for money. This cōsideraciō inhaūced his mynde vnto esperānce & that

## The batayle

¶ not a litel. Forthermore he was inflamed w<sup>th</sup> the large  
promesses of thē, whom he had acloied before w<sup>th</sup> gyftes  
& rewardes at Rome. In somoch y<sup>e</sup> agayne of newe, he  
fired his mind to inuade & vsurpe the kingdō of Adher  
bal, & by some poynt of prodiciō to take him in trape as  
he had done Hiēpsal his brother. Thus Jugurth was  
fierce: sharpe, & apte to war, wel inured with the same, &  
expert in feates therof, but cōtrarely Adherbal: whō he  
assaied & pursued, was a mete mā & oportune to take in  
iury: more fereful & dzeding other, thā to be dzed of o-  
ther. Wherefore sodēly, & without any prouisiō on par-  
ty of Adherbal: Jugurth inuaded the marches of hys  
kingdō, with a great power & multitud of mē of armes  
many of thinhabitātes he murdred: & many toke he pri-  
soners with bestes & al other maner of praiēs: robbig &  
spoiling euery wher: as fer as his armie disperfed, tow-  
nes, castels, & other edifices he bzente & beate downe, &  
many other places he assailed & inuaded more inward-  
ly i the cōntrey by excourses of his hozsemē. This done  
he returned into his cōntrey with al his multitude, pra-  
yes and prisoners: supposig y<sup>e</sup> Adherbal moued w<sup>th</sup>th  
angre & displeasure wold reuenge these iniuries, and y<sup>e</sup>  
thing shuld be cause and occasion of open war bytwene  
thē. But Adherbal aduised him selfe wel: by remēbraū-  
ce of his first bataile had w<sup>th</sup> Jugurth y<sup>e</sup> he was not able  
to cōtend with him in bataile noz with fozce of armes: &  
more ouer he had more confidence and trust in frēdship  
of the Romans: thā in the incōstant Numidyā: whiche  
leaned more to his ennemy thā to him. These thynges  
cōsidred: he send embassadours to Jugurth to cōplayne  
of these iniures. But these embassadours had noughte  
els of him, but cōtumelious proude, and hastye wordes.  
And so disposed of Jugurth returned agayne to theyz

- Iorde Adherbal: though such answers myght haue moued any coragious hert: neuerthelesse, Adherbal determined in mind: to suffer al thiges: and to take manye iniures paciētly, rather thā againe to begyn bataile wyth Jugurthe. For (as said is) the bataile foughtē befoore bytwene thē was both dishonour & also great dāmage. But for al this sufferānce of Adherbal: the mind of Jugurth was not moze pacified, nor lessed of his cruelte. The pacience of Adherbal abated not y<sup>e</sup> ire of Jugurth but it augmētēd. For all redy he had cōcluded in mind to inuade y<sup>e</sup> hole kingdō of Numidy. Therfoze he begā againe of new, not as befoze w<sup>th</sup> a cōpany of rōuers, but with a mighty and gret army assēbled together demeaning opē war, and chalāging openly the hole empire of Numidy, and with such power proceded into the land of Adherball: waisting the towones & fylde on euery syde, driuīng away praies of catel & other riches: and increasing corage to his men and dzed to his ennemis. Whan Adherbal saw it was come to y<sup>e</sup> point y<sup>e</sup> he must nedes other abandō and giue ouer his kingdome, or els maintayne it with force of armes, as he which was cōstrayned by extreme necessite, he assēbled & empareilled an army as wel as he might, & with the same proceded forth to mete Jugurth. At last the two hostes of Adherbal & of Jugurth approached & rested nere together, beside a towne named Cirtha not fer distant from the see coast & for asmoch as y<sup>e</sup> day dzed nere to night: the bataile was not anone begon, but either remained in they<sup>r</sup> tentes. A none after moch of the night was ouerpasse, and the starre lyght some what dimmed with obscurite of cloudes. The soudiours of Jugurth rayled by the sound of trumpettes bñwarly, & sodenly inuaded and assailed the tentes and felde of Adherbal, some they murder halfe



## The batayle

flappinge: and some other they flew whyle they were in  
 hand to arme them selfe. On the part of Adherball was  
 pityful murdre, and on Jugurthes syde no mercy, but  
 obstinate persecucio and vengeance & so fierly fought,  
 Jugurth & his cōpanye y<sup>e</sup> shortly Adherball fled to the  
 towne of Cirtha, accompanied w<sup>th</sup> a few horsemē. But Ju-  
 gurth pursued him so nerely y<sup>e</sup> if the inhabitātes of the  
 towne of Cirtha in hast and w<sup>th</sup> great multitude had not  
 receyued Adherbal, and w<sup>th</sup> force of armes defended the  
 walles, and kept forth y<sup>e</sup> souldiours of Jugurth, whiche  
 persued Adherbal, the bataile bitwene thē both shulde  
 haue begō and ended y<sup>e</sup> same daye, and y<sup>e</sup> to destruction  
 of Adherbal. But Jugurth perceiuinge the entre into y<sup>e</sup>  
 towne denied to him, a none beseged it on euerye side w<sup>th</sup>  
 al maner ingines inuasiue to his ennemies & defēsiue  
 to his cōpany: he caused hastely to be framed large pa-  
 uaises and towres of timbre to be dzenen bpō wheelis to  
 ward y<sup>e</sup> walles of the towne. And w<sup>th</sup> these & al maner o-  
 ther ingins wente in hand fierly to assaile the towne, &  
 somoch moze hastely he sped him to thintēt to bring his  
 purpose to effect, befoze any embassadours shulde come  
 frō Rome to resist his enterpryse. For asmoch as befoze  
 this bataile he herd y<sup>e</sup> Adherbal had sēd embassadours  
 to Rome to certifie y<sup>e</sup> senatours of his miserable state.

How y<sup>e</sup> fauourers of Jugurth at Rome laboured so in his cause y<sup>e</sup> thre  
 yong me inerperte & without policy were send embassadours into Affrike  
 to cesse this strife bitwene y<sup>e</sup> two kinges: & how these embassadours retour-  
 ned to Rome without any thing done.

The. xiii. Chap.

**B**ut after & Senatours at Rome herd tidinges  
 of this batell, they send into Affrike thre yonge  
 gentilmē embassad cōmaunding them to go to  
 both the kinges, & to cōmaund thē in behalfe of the Se-  
 natours

Fin

natours and of the hole people of Rome to cesse theyr warre, and to shewe them that the senate and Romaines wylled and vtterly commaunded them so to do. And so doing, they shulde do as it semed them: and as of congruence they ought to do bothe for pleasure of the Romaines and for theyr owne honour & profite. The embassadours with suche commaundement hasted them & came vnto Affrike, the Senatours had commaunded them to make somoche more expedicio in theyr iourney bycause tidinges were brought to Rome: whā these embassadours prepared themselfe forwarde: howe the battayle was done bytwene Adherball and Jugurth, and how Jugurth kepte Adherball beleged straitly within the towne of Cirtha. But this rumour was somewhat alayed & kepte by fauourers of Jugurth, after these embassadours were come to Numidy: they exprested to Jugurth the effect of theyr embassad, in forme as the Senatours had commaunded them, whā Jugurth vnderstode the pleasur of the Senatours by theyr wordes and embassade: he answered benignely, sayeng that he counted no erthly thing more greate, nor excellent, nor more dere vnto hym than the authozite of the senators and people of Rome, and that from his youth to that tyme he had euer so indenuozed to order hymselfe, & euery good and woorthypfull man commended and allowed hym for his vertue and manhode, and not for malyce nor wysdomenour. And for the same manlynes, & not for malicious dedes, nor for disordzed maners hys company and comerslacion was accepte and pleasure vnto the righte hyghe and woorthye Captaine Publius Scipio. Moreover: for the same, comerslacio and good maners & not for faute of chyldren naturell, hys vncle

## The batayle

Adriana had adopted him for his sonne: and made him inheritor of his kyngdome, partiner w his owne naturall sonnes: and for as much as he had demeaned him selfe ryght wel & worthely, in excecutyng of many hygh & glorious interpryses: somuch the lesse coude he suffre iniury done vnto hym vntreuenged. As touchyng Adherball Jugurth alleged for hymselfe that this Adherball by gyle and treason lay in wayt to slee hym: whiche thyng perceyued: he made resystence agaynst the same to the best of his power, as any man was bounde to do for sauegard of his owne lyfe. And if the Romayns wolde prohybit and deny that vnto hym, which Justice permytted to euery man (that is, with violence to resyst and repell violence) than shulde they neyther do wel nor ryghtwysely in that behalfe. When Jugurth had answered the embassadours after this maner: than said he for conclusion that shortly after he wold send embassadours to certify the Senatours of all other thynges concernyng this busynes: and on this poynt Jugurth & the embassadours departed in sonder. Thus Adherball had no confort nor lycence to reply agaynst the wordes of Jugurth, nor syght or comunicacion with y embassadours: all onely was it graunted vnto hym to appeale to y court of Rome, for of these embassadours coude he haue no iustice, nor dyreccion, in his iniuries and persecution. When Jugurth thought that the embassadours were passed forth of Affrike, toward Rome, and when he saw y with force of armes he coude not wyne the towne of Cirtha, bycause of natural sytuacion & difficulte of the place. Anone he besiged the towne agayn of new, and all difficultes not wstadyng, he made a profounde and depe trench rounde about the towne with sharpe stakes.



stakes and pales sticked on the hygheste parte of the same trenches wyth sharpe pykes at the vpper endes. This dyd Jugurth for manye consideracions: firste to thintent that the inhabitantes shuld not breke forth of the towne sodenly at any syde vpon any parte of hys souldiours which besieged them. Secondly to thintent that on no part any vitailles shuld be brought in to the. Thirdlye that the men of war within the towne shulde not thruste forth withoute the towne the multitude of poore commons in tyme of famine and scarstie of bytayles. And fourthlye, that no succours shoulde enter in to them to rescue the towne, nor to supplie theyr garrison. Whan thys trenche was made and fynished, Jugurth mozeouer made stronge bullwarkes and towres of tymbet withoute the towne, and strengthened the same wyth a garrison of wyghte and bolde menne of armes. Besyde all these ordinaunces he lefte nothyng vnassayed, neyther spared he to attempt any thyng by strength, or by treason and gyle. Somtyme he proued the watch men and defenders of the walles wyth gyftes exciting them to betraye the towne. Whan his rewardes awayled naughte, than he threatened them wyth fyerce and sharpe woordes, hee inhaunced by exhortacions the myndes and courages of hys owne menne to manynesse and audacitey. And soo he applyed his businesse that nothyng he omitted wonte or possible to be doone in suche a case, nor no engynne of warre lefte he vnprouided, whyche in those dayes was contrpyed or founde: but rather besyde all olde inuencions he inagyned and drupled newe enginnes and ordinaunces of warre not sene befoze that tyme, and al for destruccio of the towne of Cirtha, and of Adherball whome he besieged wyth-

## The batayle

in the same. But what tyme Adherball consydzed hys fortune come to extremyte on all partes, he cast manye thinges in mynde. On the one syde he perceiued his enemy Jugurth violente agaynst him, and no trust of comfort oz socours. On the other syde he consydzed wel that for penury and wante of souldiours and other thinges necessary he was not able nother to fyght with hys ennemie, nor to dryue forth oz prolong the batayle: and for faute of bytaile he myght not long defend þe towne. These thinges with many mo well reuolued in mind: he chole for the two whiche were most diligent and trusty of that company which had fled with hym into Cirtha. To them he wofully bewailed his misfortune: and made so large promisses of rewardes vnto them: that at last he induxed them to go forth of the towne by night priuely, and if they might escapz theyz ennemies, to resorte to the nexte hauen towne: and from thens to haste them to Rome with letters whiche he had deuised and wrytten to be delyuered to the senatours. These messengers were trusty and faythfull, wythin few daies without any disturbance: they fulfyllled the commaundemēt of theyz soueraigne, and delyuered the letters of Adherball vnto the Senatours, whiche letters anon were redde in the counselhous befoze the senatours of Rome of which letters þe sentēce hereafter insueth & was such.

¶ The sentence of the letters sente from Adherball vnto the senatours, what tyme he laye beseged by Jugurth within the towne of Cirtha.

The .xv. Chapter.



Most worthy fathers, it is not throughe my faute þe I sende so often to you requiring your socours, & cōplaining myne iniures, but the violence

olence & rigour of Jugurth, compelleth therto, whose mynde is filled with so great a lust and desire to bereue my lyfe: y<sup>e</sup> neyther hath he in mynde the dread of goddes punishment, nor feare of your displeasure. My bloude he couciteth more than all thinges: In somoch that now is the .v. moneth sith I am kept closed & beliged w<sup>th</sup> armed men, by tyranny of Jugurth. He nothing regardig that I am confederate felowe & frende of the people of Rome. Neither can preuaile nor help y<sup>e</sup> great benefites of my father Micipsa done to this Jugurth, nor youre authorite nor ordynaunces or decrees. I am vncertaine whyther I am constrained & oppressed more greuoussly by force of armes or by hunger, for bothe inuolueth me on all sides, I wolde wyte vnto you moche more touching the tyrannous cruelte of Jugurth but my miserable fortune moueth me contrary: and moreouer I haue often perceined before this time: that small credence is gyuen to such as ar oppressed with misery. Saue this I perceiue clerely that the mind of Jugurth coueteth a greater thinge thā my deth or kyngdom. And if by your sufferāce: he shal subdue me and bereue me of my kyngdom: at last he shal rylse and rebel agaynst your empyre. Wherefore yf ye lyst not to defende and socour my lyfe: at leest defende your kyngdome of Numidy, and preuente the vsurper of youre empire. Suffre not this tyrā to enioye the kyngedome of Numidy, and your good wyll wythall. But truely ye may well perceyue that he loketh not after your fauour: after he shal haue vsurped the realme of Numidy. But whyther he setteth lesse by losse of youre friendshippe and fauoure, or of the domynion of Numidy, none is so blynde but that maye euydentlye perceyue the trouth. For his deedes



## The batayle

Declare : that he counteth lesse greuous to haue youre  
hygh displeasur, than to lose his fiers purpose to sle me,  
and than to occupy the hole lande of Numidy. For this  
hath he proued and made manifeste by hys vnnaturall  
and cruell dedes, first of all he hath slayne my brother  
Hiempsall: which dede he durst not haue done if he had  
feared your displeasure, next that, he droue me forth of  
my countrey & fathers kyngedome. But these iniures  
for certayne wer done agaynst my brother and me, & no  
thinge they longed to you. But now he conspyred byer  
inuadinge, vsurpinge, and wastynge the hole lande of  
Numidy with force of armes. And where as ye set me  
as your leuetenaunte vnder you to gouerne a parte of  
Numidy. This Jugurth now hath dzyuen me frome  
my libertie into the towne of Cirtha, and besegeth me  
wyth menne of armes closed on all sydes with outward  
drede and inwarde famine: So that my peryls maye  
playnlye declare howe lytell he setteth by the wordes  
of youre embassadours. Certaynly I can se nothinge  
remayninge able to remoue his violence: nor that cane  
socoure this my misery, saue onely your power and vi-  
olence. I wolde right gladly: that these thynges whiche  
nowe I write to you: and all those thinges whiche I  
haue complayned befoze in the connsell house were but  
fayned and false rather than this my euidente myserye  
shulde proue them true and credible vnto you. But sith  
I was bozne in that hour, and my destiny is suche that  
Jugurth mooste manifesteth his coursed crueltie by  
me: therfore nowe my request nor prayer is not that I  
may escape the sharpenes and cruelte of deth whiche I  
behold instant & ineuitable but onely my prayer is y<sup>e</sup> I  
maye

maye escape the long subiectiō and bondage of my enemye and prolonged tourmentes of my miserable body. But worthy fathers: touchinge the kyngdō of Numidy, whiche apertayneth to you: prouide youe for the same as it likethe you, and if it be your pleasure: rid and deliuer me from the cruell and vnmereyfull handes of Jugurth my mortall ennemy for the honoure and mageste of your empyre, and for the fidelite of all frenshyp of any remembraunce of my grandfather Massinissa remayneth yet among you.

Howe the senatours sende new embassadours to Jugurth commaunding hym to desyst from his persecucion of Adherbal, and howe they prouailed nothing: howe the towne of Cirta was yelded to Jugurth, & howe he slewe adherbal.

## The. xvi. Chapter.



After these foresaide letters were openly red and recited before the senatours: manye of them were, whiche counsailed to sende an army into Affrike, and in all hast conueniente to socour and helpe Adherbal. And in the meane tyme they wolde take counsell and aduise touchinge Jugurth what shuld be done to him: bicause he had not obeyed theyr embassadours. When the fauourers of Jugurth herde of this they laboured with all theyr might: that no suche decre shulde be made nor procede to effect. And thus the comen wele was overcome and subdued by pryuate profete and parciall fauour, as in many other businesses is dayly wont to happen. Not withstanding this parcialite: at last it was so determined: that other new embassadours wer sent yet ones.

## The batayle

ones agayn to Affrike, not yong men & inerpert as be-  
foze but well aged men of grauite and discreff on which  
were of great dignite: & had bozne great & worſhyppfull  
offices i tyme paſt in the cite of Rome. Amonge which  
embaffadours was one named Marcus Emilius,  
Scaurus, of whome we hane made mencion befoze.

This Scaurus was a man by riches and fame couēted  
able to be couſeller of Rome: & alſo at that tyme a migh-  
tie prince & great doer among the Senatours, and in  
maner ruler of them all. For aſmuch as all men for the  
moost part were diſpleaſed with Jugurth and ſore mur-  
mured agaynſt his cruelte & agaynſt y parciall fauour  
ſhewed to hym at Rome: and alſo for that y meſſagers  
of Jugurth beſought the embaffadours to haſt them to  
Numidy, therfore y third day after theyr cōmiſſion they  
departed from Italy, & toke ſhypping and in ſhort tyme  
after arpyued in Affrike, at a citie named Utica in a pro-  
uince ſubiect to y Romans: Aſſone as they wer arriued  
they ſende letters vnto Jugurth chargyng hym in all  
haſt to come to the ſayd prouince to knowe the pleaſure  
of the Senatours of Rome which had ſende them ther  
for the nones with certen commaundemētes dyrect vn-  
to hym. Whan Jugurth vnderſtode that ſuch noble mē  
famous, & of preeminent authorite at Rome were come  
to prohybit his interprife, at firſt begynnyng he was  
ſomewhat troubled with drede, on the other part his luſt  
was much kyndled to wyne the towne of Cirtha, and to  
get Adherbal into his hādes, and ſo was his mynd di-  
uerſly diſtract with drede & deſyre: with drede of the em-  
baſſadours, & with deſire to bzynge his purpoſe to effect.  
Greatly he feared the angre and diſpleaſur of the Se-  
natours if he dyd not obey theyr embaffadours: but his  
mynd



mynde on the other part was vtterly blynded by lust of dominion, which desyre drew him violently to performe that he had begun. And so at conclusion in such mynde desyrus of lordshyp, the worst counsell ouercame the best. And couetise excluded feare: & thus he determined in mynde to win the towne (if he might) before he wold go to comen with the embassadours. This thing determined and fixed in mynde he compassed the towne about with his army: and with great violence assayled it contending to breke in therto: this dyd he: trustyng that namely: by diuidynge of his armye on all sydes of the towne, and compellyng his ennemeis within the towne to breke theyr hale company for to defende the walles assayled on all parties, he myght at last by such meanes wyne victory ouer thē. But after many & sharpe assautes at last whan he sawe his purpose proceded not to effect and that he was not of power to haue his pleasure of the towne and of Adherball before he shulde comen to the embassadours, he was right pensyue in mynd. And lest his prolongyng might angre Scaurus chiefe of the embassadours whom he greatli dyd: at last he cam into the prouince with a smal cōpany of horsmen. Allone as he was come the embassadours shewed vnto hym many greuous manaces and wordes of displeasure in name of all the senate bycause he cessed not for all theyr comaundementes from beseging of the towne of Cirtha but at cōclusion after much communicacion spent in bayne: the embassadours departed agayn to Rome: without any dyrection or apoyntmēt made. Whan tidynges herof came to Cirtha such as defended the towne were much abasshed, but Adherball most of all. At last the Italpans, of whom many were within y towne: and by

John  
Clark

## The batayle

whose strength the walles wer chefly defēded, began to thynke among them selfe þ if the towne were yelded vp to Jugurth, he durst not be so bolde to shewe any violence agaynst them for the honour and mageste of the name of Romainys. For asmuche as þ same Italians were counted as Romainys. In such dyuises they came to Adherball and hym aduised to yelde hym selfe and the towne to Jugurth vpon apointment and condicion, that the same Jugurth onely wolde promyse to graunt hym his lyfe: and as touchyng all other iniuries which Jugurth had done to hym, the Senatours whan they shuld se tyme oportune & conuenient wold se a dyreccion and remedy: Adherbal heryng this counsell, anone considered in his mind that nothyng coude be more vnstable nor more incertayne, than was the promes of Jugurth. Agayn he called to mynd that if he accorded not to theyr counsell it was in theyr power to compell hym therto. And so accordyng to theyr aduysment he yelded vp the towne to Jugurth vpon promyse onely to haue his lyfe saued. But anone Jugurth contrary to his promes put Adherbal to deth first of al with manyfolde tourmētes. After that he slew all the yonge and lusty men of the towne bothe Numidyans and Italyans marchauntes indyfferently: sparyng none namely if they were found in harnesse.

**C** Howe the Senatours certyfyd of thys crueltie of Jugurth prepared an army agaynst hym: how the embassadours of Jugurth were not receyued into Rome: and how Calpurnius the Romaine captaine was adloved wryth bybes.

The. xvi. Chapter.



Whan this crueltie of Jugurth was knowen at Rome the Senatours beganne to take counsell what thyng was best to be done in the case But they

they whose fauour Jugurth had bought before soze  
distourbed the counsell, and prolonged the tyme w<sup>th</sup> faire  
wordes and prayer somtyme: somtime with tauorable  
promes made to oth<sup>r</sup> lordes: And other whyle w<sup>th</sup> brau-  
lyng & thzetyng couertly. In somuch y<sup>t</sup> bi such meanes  
at last they alayed the displeasur taken agaynst Jugurth  
and mitigated the cruelte of his dedes. And certaynly  
all the yll wyll and hatred whiche was taken agaynst  
Jugurth shuld vtterly haue ben let fal and quēched by  
dryuyng forth the tyme in counsellng: had not ben the  
resystence & repugnaunce of one named Caius Men-  
nius: So great was the power of the fauour & treasur  
of Jugurth. This Menius was elect and assigned to  
be protectour of the cōmens for the yere next insuyng &  
was aman sharpe and fiers of cōditions, and agaynst  
the power of the noble men of Rome w<sup>th</sup> all his myght:  
and therfore whan he sawe this vnreasonable fauour  
and parcialite among the Senatours he informed the  
commen people that y<sup>e</sup> Senatours wer about to pardon  
the cruelte of Jugurth, by couetyse and corruption of a  
fewe debateful lordes. The commenty vnderstandyng  
this, was soze moued agaynst the Senatours and coun-  
sell. And the Senatours againe soze feared the cōmens  
bycause of the offences bothe of Jugurth and of them  
in fauouring hym were openly knowen: therfore they  
dradde lest all the cōmens ioyned togyder myght make  
insurreccion agaynst thē: wherfore they thought it ne-  
cessary to pacify and alay the cōmens. Nowe it was  
so that long before this tyme a noble man of Rome na-  
med Sempzonius whyle he was in authorite made a  
statute and lawe that if it fortunēd at any tyme: that the  
Romayns stode in doute and feare lest any warre oz



## The batayle

batayle myght come vpon them sodenly, newe cōsuls  
than shulde be chosen and assigned for the nexte yere to  
come, and send into suche prouynces where the batayle  
or warre was feared. These consuls were thus chosen  
before the yere of the olde consuls was fully expyred  
to thintent that in meane tyme they myght haue more  
tyme and leysur to make conuenient prouission for the  
warre: And this act so decreed was called the lawe of  
Sempromius, bicause he first inacted the same. By this  
lawe of Sempromius: the two prouinces of Numidy  
and Italy were decreed to the two cōsuls for the yere  
to come. The prouince of Italy to be defended and con-  
serued: & the prouince of Numidy to be recouerd (Scipi  
o Nasica) (and Calphurnius Bestia) were proclaimed  
Cōsuls for the next yere comyng. The lande of Nu-  
midy came by lot to Calphurnius that he shulde do his  
diligence to recouer the same, and the countrey of Italy  
fell to Scipio to defende the same. After this an army  
was assembled to be sende into Affirke, and so forth to  
Numidy: wages, and vitayles for the souldyours with o-  
ther thynges nedefull to war, were decreed of the Se-  
natours, and prouyded of the cōsull Calphurnius. But  
whan Jugurth herd tidyng from his frendes at Rome  
of this ordynaunce, and perceyued that the mater went  
forward, other wyse thā he trusted it shulde haue done.  
For his mynd was fixed that al thing right and wrong  
myght be bought and solde at Rome: now he went he in  
hand agayn with his olde craftes, and sende his sonne  
with other two of his moost famillyer and trusty frends  
embassadours vnto the Senatours. And lyke as he  
had commaunded these embassadours whome he had  
sende to Rome after he had murdred Hiempsall: ryght  
so.

so he commaunded these that they shuld go in hande to stop euery mānes mouth with money. For in his great treasure and in couetyse of the rulers of Rome was al his confidence. O cursed hunger of gold most execrable thou driuest blynd myndes to pls innumerable. Whan the se embassadours of Jugurth wer come nere Rome: the consull Calphurnius demaunded aduise and counsell of the Senatours whyther it pleased them that the sayd embassadours shuld be receyued within the wales of Rome or not. But the Senatours decreed, y except they came to yelde bothe Jugurth and kyngdome of Numidy vnto the Romans: vpon a great payne they shulde depart out of the countrey of Italy within x. dayes next after. Calphurnius commaunded this or dinance and decree of the Senatours to be bzorne and declared to the Numidyās by one named Decius. And so the embassadours departed home agayne without any thyng done, wherfore they came. In the meane time Calphurnius prepared his armye: & chose to him noble men, debateful, and haryng mani clyentes and seruātes retayned with them. This dyd he, to thintēt that if he dyd any thyng amysse in his biage: he myght trust to be supported by theyr anthozite. Among whome was named Scaurus: of whose cōditions & behauour I haue spoken befoze. But in this consull Calphurnius, weere mani good propertis and vertuouse conditions, bothe of mynde and body: but the cursed vice of couetyse which was in hym: blynded and ouer came all those vertues: so y he put thē not in execucion: he might wel indure labour, his wit was quick & pregnāt, he was puidēt and ware inough. In bataill he was so expert y in gretest perill, he was boldest & strōgst against y gile of his ennies.

## The batayle

But to our purpose, this Calphurni<sup>9</sup> whā he had elect and assembled such compani as him thought competent for an army, he deuýded all his hooft into legyons, con-  
taynyng in euery legion. vi. M. vi. C. lx. & six men. And  
so sende forth his men by legiōs by þ country of Italy  
to a towne called Regium, which towne is in the mar-  
ches betwene Italy and Cy Cil: frō this towne of Regiū  
they wer conuayed into Cy cile, and so into Affricke, and  
there they mustred and wer set in aray, and so proceeded  
by lande tyll they attayned vnto Numidie. Anone Cal-  
phurnius prepared vitailles and all maner ordinaunces  
requisite, and proceeded forwarde, assaylyng fierse lye  
the land of Numidy, as a hardy captayne, pretendyng  
great valyantisie at the first bzunt. Many men toke he  
prisoners, & a fewe townes he subdued vnto him suche  
as resysted his power he bzent them, to the grounde to  
increase fere to theyr neighbours. Jugurth aduerting  
this sharpnes of Calphurnius send embassadours to  
hym with great plenty of gold to attēpt his mynde, and  
shewed vnto hym þ hardnes and difficulte of the warre  
which he had begon. Whā Calphurnius felt the wyght  
& valour of the glystryng gold, his corrupt & vnstable  
mynde by contagion of couetyse, anone was peruerterd  
to receyue the money, and induced to fauour and assist  
the part of Jugurth. But Scaurus (of whome I haue  
spoken before) was receyued vnto thē for partiner and  
felowe of al theyr counsels & busynesses. And howbeit  
at begynnyng this same Scaurus strongly resisted the  
party of Jugurth: what tyme many other of his sect  
were corrupt and accloyed with bzibes long before this  
neuertheles now at last his mynde was abstract lyke  
other mo from the defence of goodnes and honesty vnto  
his



his olde vice of insaciablen & execrable couetyse by mean  
of haboundaunce of golde and greate rewardes of Ju-  
gurth. But at firste begynnyng, this Jugurth redeemed  
of Calphurnius, but onely delayinge and deferryng of  
of the warre: trustyng that in the meane tyme he shuld  
bryng aboute somwhat of his purpose at Rome, other  
by pryce, prayer, or fauour. But now after he had wone  
Scaurus to be partener of hys busynesse, and fauorer  
of hys cause also wyth Calphurnius: he was broughte  
in to a verye greate truste fullye to recouer his peace at  
Roome: and concluded whyle both Calphurnius and  
Scaurus were presente together, to take aduise-  
ment and treate presently wyth them of all apoyntment and  
thynges necessary to be done for performing of his pur-  
pose. Howe be it he trusted not Calphurnius so muche  
that he wold come to his army, except some hostages of  
the Romaines were lefte within some stronge towne of  
his, and in warde of his people wherby he myght truste  
without damage safely to be remitted againe to his ar-  
mie. Calphurnius to auoide this dout of Jugurth, and  
to put hym in more assurance, send the tresourer of the  
Romaine armie named Sextius, vnto one of the chiefe  
townes belongyng to Jugurth called Uacca, sayninge  
among the army that he sente the tresourer thither for  
prouision of wheat and other bytayles necessary to hys  
hooste. And the same commaundemente to prouyd by-  
tayles the captaine Calphurnius gaue to his tresourer  
openly in commen audience: to the intent that no manne  
shulde suspecte his false purpose: sayng to his tresourer  
that he neded not to be in doute of Jugurth, for as much  
as truce was taken betwoene both parties tyll a certeine  
daye presyred. The tresourer Sextius went to the sayd  
cylle

## The batayle

ryte of Uacca at commaundement of Calphurnius his  
captayne. Wherfore anone after Jugurth (lyke as he  
apointed befoze) came to the army of Calphurnius, and  
there in pzeſence of the rulers and counſell of the Ro-  
mains, ſpake lytell of his purgacion, concernyng the  
diſpleaſure, enuy, and hatredde, which the ſenate and  
commens of Rome had take againſt him for his dedes  
ſayeng that he had nought done but prouoked of his  
ennemies, and for his owne defence: with violence to  
reſyſt violence. Howe beit he ſayd that he was cōtented  
to yelde and ſubmit hym ſelfe vnto the Romayns cle-  
mencie and mercy. Somuch ſpoke he openly befoze al  
the chefe counſel of the army. But al the remenaunt he  
concluded & dyd ſecretly with Calphurnius & Scaurus  
at moze leaſure, and thus ended y cōmunication of this  
day. On the next day after inſuyng the captayne and  
the counſel of the army, and alſo Jugurth aſſembled to  
gyder agayn to common of the ſame mater concernyng  
peace to be graūted to Jugurth. Nowe it was ſo that at  
Rome was decreed an ordinaunce long befoze this time  
named among the Romayns the Satyre lawe, which  
lawe commaunded that the captayne of euerye armye  
ſhulde aſke aduylſe of all wyſe counſell of his hoſt whā  
he went about any wherghy mater concernyng the  
rōmen wele. Wherfore Calphurnius thought ſo to order  
hymſelfe that he ſhulde not be counted a brekar of this  
lawe: And deſyzed counſell and aduiſe of all the noble  
and wyſe men of his hoſt. This dyd he to thynēt that  
if the peace graūted to Jugurth ſhulde be afterward  
dylallowed at Rome (as it was) he myght auoyde the  
faute from hym ſelfe into the common counſell. But at  
concluſion, whan Calphurnius acōrdyng to the ſayd  
lawe

latwe had required aduise of the common counsell, euery man cōsented that peace shulde be graūted to Jugurth vpon condicion and conuenaunt that he shulde deliuer vnto the Romayns thirtie Clyphantes with moche o- ther catel and many hozles with a great some of golde. To which ordinaunce Jugurth acōrded and soone af- ter deliuered the same Clyphantes, catell, and hozles & golde vnto the tresourer of the Romayne hoost. Thys done the consull Calphurnius departed to Rome to re- quyre the senatours and other rulers to confirme thys peace and concorde whiche they had made w<sup>th</sup> Jugurth. In meane tyme ouer all Numidy and also in the Ro- mayne army was peace and concorde in abydyng the answere of the senate and rulers at Rome.

Howe the rulers of Rome for the most parte were greuously displea- sed for grauntyng of this peace, and disallowed the same. And how Dem- mus inflamed the common people agaynst the fauourers of Jugurth.

The .xxiii. Chapter.

**B**Ut after it was knowen at Rome in what maner the consull had behaued hym selfe in Affrike with Jugurth: in euery place a- boute Rome, and amonge euery companye within Rome it was commined of the dede of Calphurnius. In somoche that among the commē- ty was raysed greuous hatered and displeasure against hym. The senatours were sore troubled & wer in doute whyther they myght confirme and allowe this foule & shamefull dede of the consull, or els abrogate and an- null the same. In this perplexite they were long tyme vncertayne. And moost of all the myght and power of Scaurus (bycause he was a doer and felowe with the



## The batayle

consull in the saide dede) let them from discussing of the ryght. But whyle the senatours in such wise prolonged the tyme. In this dubitacion Memmius (of whose condicions, promptnes of wytte, and hatered: which he had against y power of the estates and noble men we haue wrytten befoze) at dyuers tymes he assembled the common people, exhortyng and inflamyng them to reuenge the cruelte of Jugurth, and parcialite of his fauourers and warning them not to forsake the defence of theyr commen weale and lybertye of theyr cite. He rehersted vnto them the pride the cruelte, and manyfolde vnlawfull dedes of the senatours and of other estates at many tymes done to disworshyp and oppression of the common wele. And bitterly at conclusion so he behaued hymselfe that he kyndled the myndes of the vniuersall commentie to resyst the parcialyte of the estates, and to se the cruelte of Jugurth extremely punyshed. But by cause the eloquence of this Memmius at that season was at Rome notable and moche set by, dyscrete and of greate authoryte. I haue intended of so many exortacions as he had to the people to commyt one to remembrance by wrytyng. And specially befoze all other I wyll wryte that exortacion whiche after returnyng of Calphurnius from Affrike the sayde Memmius spake befoze the commen people in fourme folowyng.

**T**he oracion of Memmius had befoze the commē people of Rome. In whiche oracion he induceth them to defende theyr lyberte, And to expelle and persecute wyth hatered the noble men of Rome.

The. fix. Chapter.



Right woorthyn cetizing many thinges wolde w  
drawe me from defence of you and from charge  
& medling w your businesses were not y great  
loue

loue & fauour which I haue to the commen wele: & cau-  
seth me to set a side al such impedimentes, & vtterly to  
take vpon me the defence of youre liberte against these  
corrupt estates. Moze plainly to ascertain you: & thyn-  
ges which might withdraue me from defence of youre  
cause be these. First the power of them which are begi-  
ners of this variāce, & is to saye of Calphurnius and  
Scaurus. Secondly your paciēce whiche is easye to be  
subdued of cruelte: sithe ye be disposed to endure this  
wzonge. And thyrddly & infecciō of Justice whiche is no  
boher here among vs, but clene exyled from oure cytie.  
And principally this letteth me for that I se you so in-  
nocent, so feble minded, & so simple, & in euery place ye are  
sure of al & peryl, of al the labour: & of al the paine, but  
these estates which do nought & is cōmendable haue al  
& honour: auantage, & worlshyp. And sothely, it greueth  
me to speke to you of & iniury & now of late hath bē don  
to you: howe moch ye haue ben had in skorne, derision &  
in disdain: to & power & pryde of a few estates. And al  
so it greueth to recount how vnreuenged many of your  
defēders by thē haue shamfully be. put to deth for your  
sake within these fiftene yeres. And to se how your min-  
des be corrupt with cowardise & negligence & ye wolde  
neuer socoure them whiche in your quarell and defence  
haue suddued thē self to deth. What intend ye wil ye stil  
be subiect vnto these estates your enemies. It is surely  
tyme at the last to arise and defend your lybertie, ye do  
dred them, whome it semeth to doute and to drede you,  
consyderynge youre true quarell, and theyr vngodlye  
misdemeanour. But not wythstandynge that ye bee  
thus dysposed to lose youre lyberte and in mysse to  
passe forthe the resydue of youre lyues, neuertheles.

## The batayle

the good wyll, whiche I haue to you and to the commē wele rauſeth and dryueth my minde to reſyſte this falſe fauoure and parcialyte of theſe proude and vniuſte lordes. Certesſe I ſhall aſſay and proue howe I can deſed the lyberte whiche my father leſte me, but whyther I ſhall ſo do to auauntage or els in bayne that lieth hole in your handes and power. Surely worthy citezins I do not exorte you to withſtande theſe wronges and oppreſſions with force of armes as our forefathers haue often done. To reſyſt and repell this wronge nedeth no violence no deuydyng of you frome the ſenatours as your elders haue done before tyme. It muſt nedes be y theſe great men confederate in malyce at laſt ſhal come to decaye by theyr owne condicions and insolente behauoure.

**W**ere not ſharpe inquiſicions & greuous examinaciōs had againſt the comen people of Rome, after that Tiberius Graccus was ſlayne for the deſece of the lawes belonging to the commentie: whome his euill wyllers accuſed as vſurper of kingdome ouer the comen people. And mozeouer after y Caius Graccus and Marcus Fuluius, were put to deth for defending of your lyberte, were not many of youre order and behauour that is to ſaye of the commentie put to deathe or murdered in priſon: And at both the ſeaſons the eſtates made no ende of theyr crueltie agaynſt you after the lawe, but after theyr unmoderate pleaſur. Well forſothe I graunt that it be reputed for treaſon and vſurpacion of a kingdome to defende the lawes and the right of the commentie, and I graunt alſo that what thyng can not be condygnely puniſhed without effuſion of blode of many citezins, that the ſame puniſhemēt be executed according  
to



to lawe and right vpon a fewe such as were begynners  
of the trespasse, within these fewe yeres passed ye disdain-  
ned and murmured secretly amonge youre selfe that  
the sayde lordes spoyled the commen treasure wyth-  
out youre consente. And that kynges and nations con-  
tributozy to Rome, payed theyz trybutes to a fewe pri-  
uate estates, and not generall to the vniuersall citie in  
commen: and ye grutchted that these estates had all the  
moost dignite and all the rycheesse and treasure, also in  
theyz handes. Neuerthelesse they counted but a small  
thyng to escape unpunished for these so great offences.  
Wherfore nowe are they become so bolde, so fiers, and  
proude: by youre sufferance that at last they haue betra-  
yed and put in handes of youre ennemyes, your lawes,  
your dignite, youre magestye, wyth all other thinges  
bothe humayne and diuine to your libertie belongyng.  
So that in pardoninge of these inhumayne and cruell  
offences of Jugurth they haue polluted and betrayed  
the lawes bothe of god and man. And howe be it that  
suche is theyz demeanour it nothyng repenteth them:  
nor they be nought asshamede therof. But dayly iette  
before youre faces solemnly and pompously boasting  
them selfe: Some of theyz dignities, theyz lordshippes,  
and offices. And other some craking of their triumphes  
and victories, as who saith that they attained the same  
by honoure, and not by falsehoode and robberie. Haue  
ye not dayly experience seynge that symple bondmen  
bought & solde for money wyl not suffer nor endure the  
brutish commaundementes of theyz lordes or maisters.  
But contrarye wyle ye gentylmen: fre borne cetyzens,  
are contented to suffre wyth meke myndes thys bon-  
dage wherin ye are holden subiecte by the power of  
these

## The batayle

these lordes. But I praye you what maner of men be these whiche thus subdue you, and presume thus longe to occupy the common weale at this season: Forsothe they be men:re most vicious, with bloddy handes infected, with the blode of innocentes. Men of immoderate and insatiabie couetyse: noysom and greuous to euery good man. Whose pride incredible no man can comprehend, which for money haue sold & dayly are redy for to sell for lucre: theyr fidelite, theyr worschyppe, theyr deuocyon, and good name: And brefely all thynges honest & dishonest are they redy to do for auantage. Wherby it apereth evidently that all theyr ioye and felicity resteth in couetyse. Some of them count hymself moze assured bycause they haue slayne the protectours of the common tie to the intent that other may drede the so much moze And other some of them in wronge examinations and inquisicions had agaynst you reioyse & count them selfe hardy and surer therby: And many other thinketh their defence and auancement in murdzing of you, boasting them selfe of the same: and thus howe muche wors that eche of them doth: y more sure he is & moze set by. In so much y wher they ought to fere you for theyr mysdedes they transpose that fear vnto you, and cause you by your cowardyse to fear and drede them: whiche are conioyned al togyder agaynst you in one maner desyre of yl, in one maner couetyse, i one hatedde of good, & in one maner fere of your auancement, but among good men to be al of one mynde vnder this maner one not withstandinge an other it is to be counted for ampte and frendshyppe. Among yl men such agreynge of maners is but a knot of discorde and causeth sedicion, variaunce, and debate. But verily if ye had so great desyre and care to recouer  
your

your lyberte (whiche is lost) as they haue to encrease  
theyr lordeshyppe: than shulde not the comen wele be  
oppresled and wasted as it is now: and than shoulde  
the offices, maiesterhyppes, and dignitees of Rome,  
(whiche are your benefites to gyue where lykethe you)  
be in handes of good and vertuous men, and not in the  
handes of bolde bosters and iniust men confederate in  
myschafe. The comentie of Rome youre forefathers  
beefore this tyme haue armed themselves and forsaken  
the senatours two sondre tymes and kepte them selfe  
together vpon the hyll of Aduentyne, onely bycause  
they wolde haue a lawe decreed and enacted of them.

And maisters or officers electe for them whiche shulde  
be theyr protectours againste the injury and extorcyon  
of the estates whan nede shulde requyre, whiche thinge  
at last was graunted to them, and manye other lyber-  
ties also. Than shulde not your honoure mouche more  
wyth all your myghte for continuacion of the same ly-  
berties, whiche they haue lefte vnto you as hole as e-  
uer they had them. And speciall for this cause ought ye  
to defend your priuileges for that it is more shame and  
rebuke to lese the priuilege and lybertie gotten than ne-  
uer to haue optayned them: And speciall what shame  
is it to you nothyng to augmente nor encrease that au-  
thorite, whiche your elders and forefathers haue lefte  
to you: but to suffer the same by your cowardise by ly-  
tell and lytell to decay, and at laste vtterly to be losse &  
come to noughte. But anye of you maye than requyre  
of me what is your mynde what wyll ye that we  
doo. I wyll forsouthe and counsell that punishmente  
be taken vppon them whiche haue betrayed the  
honour



## The batayle

honour of the commen wele vnto your enemy Jugurth without aduyle of the Senatours or of the commenty: but this my counsel is not to punyssh them violently w your power in batayle, for certes that were moze dys honoure vnto you to do, than to them to suffre the same. Not withstandynge that they be worthy so to be delt withall But this thyng mai be best done bi inqysition examinacion and confession of Jugurth hymselfe, and by his accusation of these treatours, whiche Jugurth surely wpll be obedient to come hyther to Rome at your commaundement if it be true that he hath yelded hymselfe. But if he dyspise your commaundementes than may ye wel thiinke and consider what peace or yeldinge he hath made by the which yeldyng he is unpunyshed and pardoned of his detestable and shamefull dedes and these estates laded with richesse and treasure. But our cite and welthe of the commenty is come to losse, dammage, and bitter shame & diswozshyp. Thus muste ye do, suche examinacions muste ye make without ye thynke that these great men haue not yet sufficiēt lordshyppe and power in theyr handes or els without ye shewe outward that ye were better pleased and content with that season whan kyngdomes, prouinces, iustices lawes, iugementes, batayle, peace finally euery thyng both diuine & humaine were in handes of a fewe estates. Than ye be now pleased with the season and tyme that now is whan your lybertie is gyuen to you which ye are able to mayntayne if ye so be disposed. But in that season passed, howe beit ye were vnouercome of your enemies, maisters, and emperours, ouer the most part of the worlde: yet had ye ynough to do to defende your own lyfe from the cruelty of these fewe mighty men. For

of

In my defiaunce of the Senate and Jugurth

of you al who was so bolde to withstād their subieccion  
and bōdage. Wherfore if ye entend to endure and suffre  
the destruction of your libertie as ye begyn than truely  
the tyme which is to come shalbe much moze crnell to  
you than the tyme passed. But as for me not withstan-  
dyng that I vnderstand thz great offence and abhomi-  
nable of this wycked Jugurth is suffred unpunyshe-  
d: yet wolde I suffre paciently that ye shulde forgyue and  
pardo the wicked doers of this dede as men most vngra-  
cious bycause they be citezins. If it wer not so, that such  
mercy and forgyuenes shulde tourne to our dystuction  
and ruyne of our empire. For ye may se how great opor-  
tunitie & sufferance they haue in somoch that they counte  
but a smal thyng to do unhappely without punishment.  
Wherfore they now dayly encrease theyr cruelty against  
you, if ye do not herafter take from them the power and  
authorite therof. And specially cōtynual busynes with-  
out end shal remayne vnto you whan ye se playnly that  
outhere ye must be seruauntes or bondemen: or els ye  
must retaygne and defende your libertie by strength of  
your handes. For what hope or trust is there of faithful-  
nes or of conoord bytwene you and them? None surely.  
For their mynde is vtterly set to be lordes ouer you: and  
ye on the other parte wyl nedes be fre and at libertie.

They be extremely inclined and disposed to do wrong  
and iniury vnto you. And ye labour to withstande them  
vtterly. And bresely to speke they take the frendes and  
felowes of our empire for ennemies. But our mortall  
ennemies they take for theyr felowes and frendes. But  
ye wolde withstand this cursed and unkynd behauour.  
Wherfore can ye suppose that peace, loue, or friendship  
can be among people so cōtrary of myndes & disposicion

## The batayle

For these consideracions I warne and exhorte you that ye suffre not so greate myschefe to escape unpunished. This offence is nothyng lyke to the robbing of the common treasure, nor to the spoylinge of money by extorcion from the felowes and frendes of oure empire. Whiche dedes (how be it they be greuous and in maner intollerable) neuertheles by custome and vse of the same thei are repued for smal fautes & for nought. But this dede is moche moze greuous and bitterly intollerable. For the authorite of the senate is betrayed to our most cruell and fiers ennemy Jugurth, youre empire is falsly betrayed to other mennes handes and possession. The common wele hath bene put to sale to Jugurth by the senators bothe at home in our cite, and also in oure army by Calphurnius the consull: In so moche that if examination be not made hereof: and if they be not punished whiche be culpable and faultie herin. What thyng shall remayne vnto vs but that we must passe our lyfe vnder obedience and bondage of the which thus haue done, and vs shall they kepe in subiection as yf they were kynges. For what thinge longeth to a kyng save to parfourme his wyll and pleasure be it good or yll without any resistēce or punishmēt of any mā. Do not these estates without any contradicō, not wythstanding yf it is in your power to withstand the if ye wil. For certes worthi citezins I do not thus exhorte you to coueyt rather that youre citezins shulde do yll than well. But I speke to thintente, that ye shulde not so fauour and forbere a fewe iniust and yll disposed mē that the bitter destruction of all good men shulde proceede of suche indiscrete fauoure. And also namelye in a cite or a common weale it is muche better and



and more tollerable to forgette the reward of good dedes, than the punishment of yll dedes. For a good mā seyng his goodnes not rewarded nor set by, he dothe but onely withdraue his owne kyndnes: but an yll man not punished, is the more bolde and cursed: And moreouer if suche as be misdoers be punished: at y last theyr nombre shalbe abated and decreased, and if there be few vniust men, the lesse wronge is done. And he to whome no wronge is done nedeth not to call for socoure nor helpe. Thus is it better to leaue a good dede virewarded, than an yll dede vnpunished.

¶ How Memmius induced the people of Rome by the sayde oracion: so y Cassius was sente for Jugurth to brynge hym to Rome to declare and accuse the suppoier of hys dedes.

The. xx. Chapter.

**M**emmius counsellynge and inducynge often tymes by these wordes & other lyke at laste dyd so moche that Lucius Cassius one of y these. x. iudges of Rome shulde be sende to Jugurth and assure hym of his lyfe, and to come and retourne in saue garde vpon promes & fayth of all the hole commenty of Rome. And vpon this promes to brynge him to Rome to thintent that by his owne wordes and confession of the treuth, the falshode & couetyse of Calphurnius the consull, of Scaurus & of other whiche had bene corrupted by hym befoze by money & rewardes myght be euidently proued and knowen.

¶ Of the behauour of the Soudyours and other which were laste in Rusyndy while Scaurus the consull was at Rome.

The. xxi. Chapter.

p. ii.

While

## The batayle



Wyle these thinges were in hand and done at Rome, in meane tyme the chefe of þ̄ soudiours, whiche Calphurnius had lefte behynde hym, in Numidy folowed the manners and behauioure of theyr captayne and dyd many vngedly and myscheuous dedes. Some of them were so corrupt with golde that they delyuered agayne to Jugurth the olyphantes, which he had gyuen to Calphurnius what tyme the peace was graunted & truce, first taken bytwene them. Some other solde to Jugurth the traytours whiche had fled from hym vnto the Romayns army. And other some spoyled & robbed the people of Numidy, whiche had al redy peace wth the Romains, and had yelded themselfe. So great and shamefull was the violence of couetyse whiche had infected theyr minde, as if it had ben an vniuersall contagion of pestilence. But nowe wyll I retorne to my master wher I left before cōcerning Cassius the iudge & his viage to Numidy for to bringe Jugurth vnto Rome.

Howe Jugurth came to Rome with Cassius and howe he behaued hym selfe there.

### The .xxii. Chapter.



Caius Memmius in name of all the commons gaue commaundemente to Cassius, (accozdyng to the ordinaunce inacted) to spede hym towarde Numidye, and to bid Jugurth come to Rome vnder suerte and condition before reherfed. Whā the estates which knew them selfe culpable vnder stood of this were maruelously abashed. But whan Cassius was come to Jugurth not wythstandyng that he was ferefull of hys parte,  
and

and had no confidence in his cause for asmoche as he knewe hymselfe faulty in his owne conscience, yet Cassius aduised him: and induced hym, bycause he had persuaded hym selfe to come vnto Rome: without he wold rather proue the Romayns strengthe and violence than theyr mercy and pyte: and moreouer the sayde Cassius promised also hys owne faith and trouth that if he wold come to Rome and answere truly to all suche thynges as there shulde be demaunded of hym, he shulde safely go and come wythout any impediment. Cassius had so good a name at that tyme that Jugurth had asmoche confidence in his fayth & promes alone as in the promes or assurace of the hole cite: And so at last Jugurth consented to go to Rome wyth Cassius. Wherfore to enduce the Romains to the more pyte he arayed himselfe in rude aparell agaynst his honour royall moche vile & myserable, and, so wyth Cassius came to Rome not as a kyng, but poozly and with a small company. And not wythstandyng that his mynde was moche confirmed, assured, and bolded: by the conforzte of them whiche he had corrupted with rewardes before, whose defence & suppoztacion he had committed so moche cruelty, yet he behaued hym so wyth his gyftes of newe assone as he was come to Rome, that by his great reward he induced a lorde of Rome named Caius Bebius, one of the protectours of the commenty to be suppozter & mayntener of his cause amonge the other mo. By whose dishonest and vnmesurable couetise he trusted assuredlye to be defended, astaynst lawe, from all punysshmentes due vnto hys demerites. But the commentye of Rome was violently and soze wrathe agaynst Jugurth, some commaunded to haue hym to prision, and there to kepe



## The batayle

hym in bandes: And other some wolde that acording  
to the lawe punysshment of dethe shulde be taken of the  
as of theyr mortal enemy, if he wold nat shortly cōfesse  
and discouer the felowes, partiners, and supporters of  
his cruell dedes. Caius Memmius heryng herof called  
togyder the cōmenty and alayed the mocyon and wozath  
of theyr myndes apeasing theyr bnauiſed rancour. And  
requiringe them to kepe the fayth and trowth of citie  
(which they had promysed to Jugurth) clere, inuiolate  
and vndefyled. Thus dyd Memmius exhort them as  
he which moze regarded & set moze by the conseruacion  
of the dignite of Rome, than by the parfourminge and  
satisfyng the wozath and ire of the rude cōmens. But  
whan sylence was made among all the assemble: anone  
Jugurth was brought forth before them al. Memmi<sup>9</sup>  
than began to speke to him demurely reherſing & opehli  
recounting howe he had corrupt the estates of Rome  
with his treasur, & cruelli against right had done mani  
abhorminable dedes at Rome, & also in Numidi against  
the king Micipsa and his sonnes, asaine Adherball  
and Hiempsall falsly dysceiued the king Micipsa: and  
wasted the kingdome of Numidi. And howe beit (sayd  
Memmius) that the Romayneſ knewe well his sup  
porters yet they wolde moſte of all that Jugurth shuld  
openly discouer and accuse them himſelfe. Wherfore he  
desired him truely to cōfesse the names of the by whose  
supportacion he was so bolde to cōmyt so many inno  
derate and cruel dedes. Sayng that if he wolde so do &  
confesse & disclose the trowth than might he haue great  
trust and confydence in the fauour clemency, and mercy  
of the people of Rome. But if he wolde not so do, he  
shulde do no profite by his silence to the noble menne of  
Rome

Rome whiche had suppoꝛted him. And also he shuld be destruction and vndoinge of himselfe, and of his riches also. On this pointe Memmius ceased his wordes and helde hym still. Anone Jugurth was commaunded of the commente to make answere. But whan he was redy to haue spoken Caius Bebius whome he had coꝛrupted with treasure (as I haue made mencion before) commaunded hym to helde his peace. In somoche that howe be it the people soze moued wpyth displeasure put him in feare with exclamacion agaynste hym with angry countenances and often violentlye rennyng vpon hym, and with other tokens of pye and dyspleasure.

Neuerthelesse for all this the frowarde counsell of Bebius ouercame theyꝝ threathyng, in somuche that Jugurth wolde nothing speke noꝝ dysclose. And thus the people had in derision and abused, departed from the cōgregacion and assemble. So the myndes of Jugurthe of Calphurnius, and of other theyꝝ partyners were thā inhanst & increased in boldnesse: which wer troubled and moche ferefull before, whan Jugurth was fyrste sende for and bꝛought to be examined.

Howe Jugurth increased his cruelte at Rome and renued his mynde in slepyng an other noble man of the stocke of Mictysa by occasion wherof he was constrained to depaꝛte from Rome, & the batayle renewed agayne of hyle.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.



At the same season was a gentelman at Rome named Massius, borne of the countrey of Numidy, whiche was the sonne of Galussa, and neuewe to the good kyng Massinissa. Thys Massius was agaynste Jugurth in the stryfe and discencion betwene Adherball

## The batayle

Adherball and hym, whan the tobone of Cirtha was  
yelded and Adherball slayne. Wherfore he trusted not  
Jugurth, but to saue hymselfe fled from Numidy vnto  
Rome. Nowe was a lord at Rome named Albinus,  
whiche was creat consull wyth an other partayninge  
felowe named. Minucius, the next yere after Calphur-  
nius. This Albinus came to Massina and counsayled  
hym (bicause he was of y stocke of Massinissa) to greue  
Jugurth, as inoche as he coude, wyth enuy, feare, and  
displeasure for his offences and cruelte: And by petition  
to desyre of the Senatours the administracion of the  
kyngdome of Numidy. Albinus gaue to hym this cou-  
sel, for as much as he hymselfe was desirous of batayle  
wherfore he wold much rather that euery thyng were  
moued wyth trouble, than pacified or at rest. Thā was  
a custome at Rome, that the consull shulde haue a par-  
tyng felowe, and bytweene them the prouinces belon-  
gyng to Rome shulde be deuided. Thus in departyng  
of the prouinces, the countre of Numidy fel to Albinus  
and the countrey of Macidony to his felow Minutus.  
Shortly after Massina begā to mone the mater to the  
senatours touchyng administracion of the kyngdome  
of Numidy. Jugurth heringe of thys had not so greate  
trust in hys mater not to hys frendes as he had before:  
for some of them wyth drew thei selfe for knowlege  
of thei fautes, and other some for feare of yll name &  
fame or rumour of the people. Wherfore Jugurth con-  
syderynge this, requyred Bomilchar, one of his moste  
nere and trusty frendes to prouyde and to hyer by gyf-  
tes and rewardes a company to sle the sayde Massina:  
and that as pryuely as coude be done. But if it coude  
not pryuely be done, thā to sle him openlie by one meane



oz other Bomilchar shortly went about & commaunded  
 ment of Jugurth, and anone prouided men and hyred  
 such as were mete for such a dede: and commaunded the  
 to espy and serche his wayes, his goynges & commynge  
 and to wayte a season and place couenient to parforme  
 theyr enterpryse. But afterward whan he sawe his tyme  
 he prepared to execute this treason. Wherefore one of the  
 which were ordayned and assigned to this murdre, assay  
 led Massua rashely, with smal prouision oz auisement  
 and slewe hym vnware. But he whiche dyd the dede  
 anone was taken and brought before the iudges. The  
 people in great nombze desyred and at last constrayned  
 him to tell by whose counsell he dyd that myscheuous  
 dede, and specially Albinus the consul coarted hym ther  
 to. The murderer anone confessed the treuth & declared  
 howe he had done it at the instigation and counsell of  
 Bomilchar: And not withstanding that the same Bomil  
 char came to Rome, vnder sauegarde and assurance of  
 the fayth of the commente as dyd Jugurth, yet he was  
 iudged gyltie of the dede, considering that he was coun  
 selloure therto, and not accor dyng to the common lawe,  
 but after very equite and good conscience. But Jugurth  
 consydering himselfe culpable in the same faute, yet  
 wold by no meane confesse nor knowlege hymselfe fau  
 tie, tyll tyme that he vnderstode and sawe that the enuy  
 and displeasure which was taken agaynst this dede  
 passed al his fauour and rewardes which he had gyuen  
 at Rome, so that at last in his giftes he found no socour  
 nor ayde. But howe be it in the first accion oz accusement  
 which was layed agaynst him, he had brought in and  
 layd .l. suerties of his frendes for hym and all other of  
 his retynue that he shuld purge hymselfe of euery thing

## The batayle

which was oꝛ shuld be layed agaynst hym, yet thought he better to pꝛouide foꝛ the pꝛoteccion foꝛ his pledges oꝛ suerties. And this cōsydꝛing he pꝛiueſly ſent Bomilchar a way from Rome vnto Numidy, dꝛedinge that if condyng and woꝛthy punyſhement were taken of Bomilchar at Rome, leſt the other commentie of his realme at home wolde dꝛede to be obedient to hym. And anone after Bomilchar was departed Jugurth hymſelfe fled alſo from Rome after hym, commaunded of the Sena- tours to depart from Italy as enemy to the Romaines and theyꝛ empyꝛe. But whan he was departed a lytell without Rome: it is ſayde that he loked often backe warde behynde ſpekyng ſecretly to himſelfe, but at the laſt he ſpake playnly in audience that they whiche were aſſiſtent might here him and ſayd. O noble and famous citie corrupt and accloyed with infect citezins, whoſe couetyſe is ſo inſaciabſe that they wyll pꝛofer the foꝛth to ſale, and ſhoꝛtly thou ſhuldeſt be ſolde and peryſhe, if thy rulers could fynde any man that wold bye the, and gyue money foꝛ thee.

Howe Albinus conſull of Rome renewed the warre of Jugurth, and at laſte returned agayne to Rome, teauyng hys brother Julius in Numidy, wiyth the army in his roume.

### The. xxiij. Chaptyer.

**I**n the meane ſeaſon Albinus which was create conſull next Calphurnius renewed the warre agaynst Jugurth and without ſtaryng: cauſeth vitayls, wages & all other thynges neceſſary, expedient, & belonginge to ſoudyours: to be conueyed ſpedely into Affrike. And he anone hymſelfe in all haſte toke hys vyage thither- warde

warde also, and so forth to Numidy. In which byage he made moze hasty expedicion to thintent to fynishe the warre with Jugurth, other by force of armes, oz els constrayning him to yelde himselfe, oz by some other meanes what so euer might be founde namely before the tyme of election of newe consuls, whiche tyme was not longe to come. But contrary wise Jugurth prolonged euery thing by one cause oz other. As faste as Albinus went forward, so fast Jugurth found impedimentes, somtyme he promised to yeld himselfe, and somtyme fained himselfe afrayed. One whyle he fled from the army of Albinus whan it was nere hande to him: And anone after lest his men shuld mistrust by discomfort oz dispayre, he boldely withstode and defended himselfe manly. And thus in prolonging the tyme: sometime with warre and somtyme with peace, he abused and mocked the consull, wherfore some were which suspected that Albinus was not ignozant of the counsel of Jugurth, but consentyng to him bi fauoure: And for asmuche as at the begynninge he was so fiers, hasty, and diligent: it was suspected that he droue forth the tyme nowe rather by craft than cowardise. But after the tyme was passed and the day of election of newe consuls aproched and come faste on. The consull Albinus ordayned his brother named Julus, to remayne in his steele as cappytaine and ruler in the army: and he himselfe departed towarde Rome, to be at election of the newe consuls, as the lawe requyred.

**C**howe Julus and the Romayne armye were discomforted of Jugurth: and howe peace was graunted to hym by Julus: and to what name the Romaynes were putte in the folye of the lame cappytaine Julus.

The. xxb. Chapter.



## The batayle

**I**n the same season was the common weale at Rome much troubled with variaunce and debate, betwene the protectours of the commēti. For of the one named Lucullus and an other Annius laboured to continue and kepe still their office and agaynst the ordynaunce of the lawe to continue more than one yere. Wherefore the other whiche were partyng felowes in office with them labored with all their myght the contrary to resyst them and to mayntayne þe olde constitucion, ordynaunce and custom. This dyscencion & debate lettēd the election of the newe consuls al that yere. Aulus whom Albinus had left with the army in Numidy as his lyfetenant herd of this prolongyng of the tyme and was brought in great hope to wyne great honour or treasure. Wherefore in the colde moneth of January he called the souldyours forth of theyr tentes to execute the batayle with Jugurth without more delaye. Outher dyd he thus shortly to make an ende of the batayle in his tyme, and therby to wyne honour or els with his army to put Jugurth in feare (so that to haue peace) he should redeme the same of Aulus with great treasure. Aulus concludynge on this purpose, spedde hym so fast with his souldyours makynge dayly great tournayes (not withstanding the sharpnesse of wynter) that at last he came to a towne in Numidy, named Suthull: in which towne the treasures of Jugurth were lated. This towne with walles, waters, and mountaynes of nature was strongly defended: for without the walles buylded on the heygth of a mountaygne broken on the forefront was a great plaine fenne, or marrayle ground: al ouer couered with mudde, and standyng wynter water. In  
somoche

somuche that what for the sharpnesse of the wynter sea-  
 son: and what for natural defence of the place, this towne  
 coulde by no meanes be well besyged nor taken: yet this  
 notwithstanding Julius to encrease fere to Jugurth, and  
 for the blynd desyre which he had to wynn y<sup>e</sup> towne in ma-  
 ner of dissimulation assayed the same & made paralies  
 about the walles of shieldes conioyned like vines, wher  
 vnder his men myght fyght with lesse damage or peryl  
 Than made he a dyche or trench round about the towne  
 with great hepes of erth casten vpon the sydes of the  
 same, to the entent that no socour shuld entre into them,  
 nor they escape forth at theyr pleasures. And finally he  
 made redy euery thyng which belonged or was necessa-  
 ry to besegying of suche a towne. But Jugurth anone  
 perceyued the bayne and folye behauoure of Julius,  
 and craftely encreased by polycy the madness of hym,  
 sending often embassadours vnto him to requyre in de-  
 cysion that he wolde desyst & leue besyging of the towne  
 and intreatyng hym of peace mekely. But in the meane  
 tyme Jugurth hymselfe in maner as yf he wolde not  
 intermel with Julius, ledde his army by wodes, forests  
 by streyte passages, by hyls and dales, and by bywaies  
 causinge Julius to suspect that he was a dradde of him:  
 And finallye he enduced Julius to truste after some ap-  
 pointemente. And thus Jugurth with his men fleyng  
 alway into desertes and hidde places gaue confort to  
 Julius and encreased his corage by such auoyding. In  
 somuche that at laste Julius gaue vp the segyinge of the  
 towne of Suthul: And with his hole power hastily  
 pursued Jugurth as fleyng from him for drede into  
 places vnknoen to him and his men. Thus was the  
 treason of Jugurth moze hydde from Julius, wherfore

## The batayle

he made the les prouision therfore. In the meane season Jugurth by subtyl messangers attempted the Romaine army day and night inducyng them to consent to betray theyr felowes, the capytayns, and vndercaptayns: anon for lucre consented to hym. Some in tyme of batayle to forsake and betray theyr owne company and to fyght on the part of Jugurth. And other which wolde not graunt to so foul a dede, as to fyght against theyr owne company, he exhorted & induced the whā the trumpettis shulde blowe to batayle to leue theyr places and array: And depart from theyr company without stroke on one syde or other. Whan euery thing was brought to his purpose and accorded to his requestes: Than about mid night he stole priuely toward the tentes of the Romaines & sodenly with a gret compant of Numidiāns, cōpassed them about on euery syde and assailed them fierly. The Romaine souldyours which were with Aulus, thus vnwarly inuaded: were meruelously abashed and amazed, for the vnwonte and todayne feare of this treason. Some of the most noble hertes: with great courage dreyne to them theyr harnes, and resysted theyr enemies valyantly: fully assured and presyred to dye lyke men: yf fortune shuld graunt them none other meanes to escape that instant danger. Some other as cowardes hydde them selfe in caues and other secreete places, yf they might any fynde. The boldest and most vbled to suche chaunces comforted theyr felowes whiche were ferefull and vnerpert of such chaunces of warre. Howbeit none of them al was so bolde nor so well assured of hymselfe, but that he was bothe in great drede and daunger. And no maruayle, for in euery place and on all sydes about them they were inuironed in compasse with great violence



lence and plenteous number of theyr ennemyes hidde vnder the darkenesse of the nyghte and cloudes, which vtterly obscured the starres lyghte. Theyr peryll was indifferente and doubtfull whether they fledde or abode the batayle, for death was instante and depended ouer theyr heades euery waye, and either hope or espraunce was none, saue deathe ineuitable. So that finallye it was vncertayne vnto theym whether it was better or moze sure to flee, or to abyde their aduenture. But of that companie whiche Jugurth hadde corrupted with rewardes, as we haue sayde before, one bende or cohorte of Lumbardes and twoo turmes, that is to saye thre score Thraciens, and a fewe rude and common souldiours betrayed the Romaines, and went ouer to Jugurth. Also the Centurion whyche was assigned to be capitayne ouer them, whyche were committed to fyghte aboute the firste standarde of the thyrde legion drewe hym and hys companie a syde, and suffered theyre ennemies to entre in to the myddes of the hooste on that syde whiche they hadde taken to defend. Thus all the Numidianis brake in on that syde withoute anye reysistence. And at conclusion the Romaines hadde a foule flyghte and a shamefull discounfiture, in so muche that they trusted moze to theire feete, than to their handes and armour. And manye of them to renlyghter, threwe away theyr harnesse, and toke the top of an hyll whiche was neare thereby, and there taried. The companie of Jugurthe, what for spoyllynge of the Romaines tentes, and darkenesse of the nyghte hadde lesse honour of victorie, and suffered many of the Romaines to escape, On the next day after Jugurth and

Julus

## The batayle

Julus came to communication together. Than sayde Jugurth to Julus that not withstandinge that he had hym and his army which were leste a liue sure ynough compased and enuironed wyth wepen and hunger soo that they cold not escape hym: and how be it it was in his power to oppres hym and all his. Neuertheles he remembred well ynough the incertaine chances of mānes busynesse & wolde not be to hym cruel nor vncurtis so that he wolde make w hym a bonde of peace and no more contend agaynst him in batayle, on this condicion that all the souldpours of Julus shuld do obelance vnto hym and passe vnder a spere in token of subiectyon & so without more damage departe out of the countrey of Numidy wythin the space of .x. dayes nexte after. But how be it this composition and condicions were harde, and greuous, and full of shame and misery, and woorthy to be punished of the Senatours yf Julus agreed to them. Neuerthelesse theyr myndes so wauered for dzed of deth that at last the composition and agrement was concluded and agreed at the wyll and pleasure of Jugurth vpon the sayde condicions.

¶ What sorow and heuines was at Rome, and how they demeaned themselves in the Citie after that tydynes were brought thither.

### The .xxvi. Chapter.



¶ When the Romayns vnderstode of this at Rome, all the cite was fylled with dzedecrowe, lamentacion and mourning. Some bewalyng the woorthyp of thempire as lost, by that shamefull compolicion. And other vncustomed to suche busynesse of batayle and not knowyng nor consideryng the variable mutabilite of chaunces

res of war fered the losse of their libertie, of their cite,  
 and of al theyr empire. They al were wroth and vitterly  
 displeased w<sup>th</sup> Aulus cause of this subiection and shame  
 full composition. But namely they which had ben good  
 warriours in their dayes wer displeased with him most  
 of al: whan they considred that he beyng armed and wel  
 apointed to batail rather sought meanes to escape from  
 deth by suche shamefull and bond cōposicion than manly  
 abyding the extremite of bataile to haue deliuered hym  
 selfe and his cōpani: or els valyantly to haue died with  
 honoure. But the consull Albinus, himselfe dzeded soze  
 for this thinge considring that for his bzothers faute in  
 tyme to come he shulde not auoyde the displeasure of  
 the Senatours and commens of Rome. For as he con  
 iectured all his bzothers dedes shuld redounde to his  
 dishonour and paryll, bycause he had lymitted hym in  
 Numidy in his stede to be captayne of the army in his  
 absence. Wherfore (these thyngs duely aduised) he went  
 to the Senatours desyringe them to take counsell and  
 aduise mēt whether they wold approbate and alowe the  
 sayd cōposicion bytwene his bzother Aulus & Jugurth  
 or els not. But he knew ryght wel that the Senatours  
 wolde not cōfirme the same. Wherfore (in meane tyme  
 whyle they were counselling) he elect souldyours for  
 supplemēt to fulffyl & parforme agayn the army which  
 was in Affrike, and soze diminished. For many of them  
 were slayne by Jugurth and his company. Wherfore  
 Albinus rayled bp socours of suche as were nere to the  
 costes of Rome, and frendes to thempire: as Latinians  
 and Italians with other nacions. Of these he rayled  
 as many as he myght, and assembled them togyder by  
 all meanes which he could deuylse to fournishe and aug



## The batayle

mente his army. At conclusion the Senatours decreed in their counsell that no bonde of peace noz composition might be confirmed without their consent & without the aduyse and commaundement of the commen people also as right and reason requyzed. And thus was the sayd composition of Aulus abzogate, as a thyng presumed without consent oz commaundement of the Senatours oz commens. But whan the consull Albinus had ordayned and prepared supplemēt of his army (as sayd is) he was prohybet and lettred by the protectours of the com-  
menty: In somuche that he was not suffred by them to conuey suche company as he had raised into Affrike, with hym as he intended to repayre and fornysh the army whiche there remainned. Wherfore he spedde him-  
selfe forth into Affrike disapoynted of his purpose with a smal company of men, of his owne retinue. The army of the Romayns whiche he before had commytted to Aulus his brother: accordyng to the apoyntment with Jugurth, was departed forth of Numidy. And to passe forth the wynter, tarped in a prouince of Affrike which was subiect to thempire of Rome. Whan Albinus the consull was arryued and come thyder: his mynd arden-  
tly was kyndled with desyre to pursue Jugurth, and to remedy the yl wyll and displeasure which the commens at Rome had against Aulus his brother. Neuertheles whan he knewe the maners and yll behauour of the soudyours: of whome some were fled treyterously to Jugurth (as is sayd before) and some by sufferance of theyr captayne were infected and corrupted with ouer-  
much pleasure, dissolute liberty, and voluptuous luyng this consyding he concluded (as the case requyzed) to do nothyng for a season: and to attempte no maistry but

to passe forth the wynter with his army without remo-  
uyng or puttyng himselfe in ieopardy or payll.

**I**n the meane season whyle Albinus and his army  
sojourned in the prouince of Affricke tyl the wynter wer  
ouerpassed. At Rome was one named Caius Manlius  
elect and lyMITTED protectoure of the commen people  
whiche anone after he was set in authorite: assembled  
the commens: and desyzed and counsayled them that  
inquisicion might be made of all such whose supportaci-  
on and counsel Jugurth had dyspised and set at nought  
the ordinaüces decreed of the Senatours. And against  
them whiche had restored agayne to Jugurth the ely-  
phantes which Jugurth had delyuerd to Calphurnius  
at the first composition and apoyntment whiche was  
made with him. And also agaynst them whiche had re-  
ceyued any money or other rewarde of Jugurth whyle  
they were embassadours or captains of armies ageynst  
him: send forth by the Romayns. And finally the same  
inquisicion also was extended against all such as had  
made any pactions, apointmentes, or promises of peace  
or of warre with enemyes of the empire without general  
consent of the Senatours or commens.

**W**hen this inquire was moued, many of the Sena-  
tours and noble men of Rome knewe them selfe culpa-  
ble in the forsaide articles. And other some douted sore  
of perylls for to come because of the yll wyll and malice  
whiche the partye of the commens confederate had a-  
gainste them. Wherefore syth the same noble men might  
not well resyste the examinacion of these artycles open-  
lye, but of necessitye they muste agree thereto, eyther  
elles knoweledge them selfe (by theyr resystence) gyltie  
in the same: therfore they prepared impedimēt priuely

m.ij.

against

## The batayle

agaynst suche inquisitiones by theyr frendes, but specially by the felowes of the empire which were confederate w<sup>th</sup> the Romaynes, as Italyans and Latinians. The princes of these nations and suche other like gaue counsell to the senatours whiche were not faulty in the premises, and also to the comenty: that in such a troublous, besy, and peryllous season no suche examinatio<sup>n</sup>s shulde be made nor procede forwarde to effect: for drede of many inconueniencies whiche of the same myght rise bytwene the noble men and the comens. But (this not wythstandynge) it is a merueylous thyng and in manner incredible to speke of, how besy and diligent the comens were to haue the same inquisition to procede, and to be b<sup>r</sup>ought to effect: and that rather for hatred which they had agaynst the noble men (agaynst whom the said inquisition was ordayned) than for any good wyll or fauour, whiche they had to the comen wele. So great pleasure & desire of variance was among the. Wherefore while the remenant of the noble mē were sore troubled with fere and dred. Marcus Scaurus whiche was before sent into Affrike to Calphurnius (as I haue sayd) prouyded for hym selfe in craftye maner as I shall nowe declare. Whyle the comentie was merueylous and ioyeous of this examination, and manye of the companye of Scaurus that knewe them selfe faultye fled for feare. And the hole cytie was in muche drede and Manlius obtayned his petition and wyll of the comentye. In so muche that anone were ordayned thre noble menne commissioners to examine the thre articles before rehearsed and here insurynge, of whom the fyrste was of theim whyche counselled Jugurthe to dispise the decreis of the senatours and that toke money



or rewarde of hym. The second was of them that sold  
 agayne to Jugurth the foresayde elyphantes and the  
 Numidiens that leste Jugurth commynge on the Ro-  
 mayns sayde. And the thyrde examination was of them  
 whiche had made any appointmente of peace or warre  
 wyth the enemies of Rome as was Jugurth. But not  
 withstanding that Calphurnius was culpable in the  
 same asmoche as any other of the noble men. Neuerthe-  
 lesse he shyfted so for hymselfe that he was electe to be  
 one of the examinours or commissiouners to make in-  
 quisicion of these thre pointes rehersted. The inquisicion  
 proceded to effecte & was handled and put in execucion  
 with moche violence and sharply after the commen ru-  
 mour and pleasure of the commenty. Thus the people  
 seynge theyr pleasure fulfilled, at tyme beganne to bee  
 proud and statelly therof in lykewyse as the estates had  
 ben in fogetyme of theyr power and lordshyp. But here  
 wyll I make a small dygression for my purpose and  
 tel wherof this variance and disorde bytwene the com-  
 mens & noble men first proceded.

Wherof the disorde and takynge of parties betwene the noble men and  
 commentys of Rome had first begynnynge  
 The xxvii. Chapter.

**T**his maner of deuilyon of the commente  
 from the estates of Rome: This disorde  
 and takynge of parties bytwene them: and  
 this inordinate custom of al other inconue-  
 nyences began among them but a fewe ye-  
 res before this tyme by meane of ouer muche reste and  
 ydlenes: by superfluous habundance of riches, voluptu-  
 olite, and of other worldely delectacions: which many  
 counte and repyte for most chiefe pleasures of this lyfe.

## The batayle

For befoze the destruction of Carthage, the Senafours and commenty of Rome treated and gouerned the comen wele bytwene them preasably in loue and con corde. So that among the citezins was no stryfe nor debate, for laud, excellence, for diginte, nor for great dominion. The drede whiche they had of their enemies made them ware and kepte them in good maners causyng them to gouerne their citey with good and vertues institutes, without variance, without robbety, without oppzeffion, without slaughter nor other lyke cruell tyrannies. But whan Carthage was ouercome anone was expul sed fere from theyr myndes: and voluptuosite, wantonnes, and pride (whiche ar greatly loued in welth and prospe ritye) anone entred their myndes: so that they desyzed peace whan they had warre. But whan the warre was ended: and that they had peace and ydlenes after theyr owne desyre: theyr peace and rest was moze sharp, moze bytter, moze intollerable, and moze perillous to them than the war was befoze. For the estates bgan to tourn theyr dignite and woorthyp, into immoderate affection of great lordshyppe and domination. And the comen people began to tourne theyr libertie into lust and plea sure. Euery man prouyded and drewe to hymselfe rob bynge and reauynge without measure, from the comen wele. Thus was the commentie abstract and deuyded from the lordes. So was the citey deuyded into .ii. par tes. And the comen weale which was in the myddes by twene them on euery side was pylled, robbed, and vtter ly wasted of them both: on both sides. But the power of the noble men and of theyr party was moze mighty thā the power of the commens. For all the estates were all togyder assembled, conioyned, and bynyed. But the com mens

mens were disperſed and ſpzed abzoade into diuers places and companies gettingyng their liuyngs with labour of their handes and ſweat of their bodyes. So euery thinge was gouerned in peace and in warre at the pleaſure and aduiſe of a fewe priuate noble men. The common treasure, the prouinces, maſterſhips, offices, tributes, worſhip, triumphes, & al other things longyng to honour or auantage, wer only in the handes and poſſeſſion of the ſame fewe noble men. But the ſymple comen people was weryed and opreſſed with pouertye, bataile, and warfare. Euer in ieopardie, and neuer in auantage nor lucre. For the capitaynes with a fewe other noble men pulled ſuche prayes as were taken in batayle only to their ſinguler auantage and behofe. But in the mean ſeaſon the parentes and ſmal chyl dren of the ſouldiours wer drien from their dwelling places and poſſeſſions by the ſaide nobles men, eche one of them by that lord to whom they dwelled nereſte. And ſo the myghte and power of ſuche noble men conioyned with immoderate couetiſe aſſayled, deſpyled, waſted, and deſtroyed euery thyng without good maner, without meaſure or mode ration: hauing no reſpect nor conſideracion of any thing belonging to goodnes or vertue, tyl they had ſo far forth proceeded that at conſluſion they were deſtroyed and ouerthrowen by their owne obſtinate pryde and tyranni. But at laſte as ſoone as euer ſome of the eſtates were founde which remembryng and conſidering them ſelfe: ſette moze by true and laudable glozye, than by vniuſte power & dignitie. And wer moued in mind by cōpaſſion to ſhew merci, & pite againſt y cōmente & to ſocour their miſery, thā began the citie to be troubled & moued greuously for the courage of y comens was reuſed by ſup portacion



## The batayle

portacion of such noble men: by meanes wherof discorde  
and deuylion began to ryse in the cite, as it were dyre  
dust of the grounde raysed in a great and tempestuous  
wynde. For after that Tiberius Gracchus, and Caius  
Gracchus (whose progenitours much encreased the com-  
men weale in many batayls, but namely in the batayle  
of Carthage) began to restore the commētie into theyr  
olde libertie, and to detect the cruel mysdoedes of the few  
iniurious estates. Than al the lordes cōfederate: and af-  
ter maner chafede with yre assembled theyr felowes, as  
Latynians and some knyghtes of Rome, which in hope  
of promotion left the commens party and helde with  
the nobel men. All these with suche as were to them  
lenyng of other nacions began to withstand the accuse-  
mentes of y cōmenty: and first of al they slew Tiberius  
Gracchus: And after that within a fewe yeres they slewe  
the other brother named Caius Gracchus, while he was  
protector of y cōmenty, bicause that he accordyng to law  
a right deuided among y poze cōmente such landes as  
they had won in batayle of theyr ennemies. And at the  
same season the estates put to deth also a lorde named  
Marcus Flaccus, bycause he defended the commens  
liberte agaynst theyr extorcion. But touchyng the two  
bretherin Tiberius, and Caius Gracchus: sothly their  
myndes were greatly immoderate and vnmessurable  
in theyr desyre to ouercome the states. Neuerthelesse it  
had be muche better to the states to haue suffred them in  
theyr ryghtwyle tytell, and somewhat to haue inclyned  
to theyr myndes than to haue ouercome them so iniuri-  
ously, how beit that they were ouer hasty and busy. But  
whā the states had the victory of them after their desyre  
and pleasure than put they to death the commenty with  
out

out nombre, and many they exiled and droue out of the cite. In somuch that from thens forth they rather encreased theyr crueltie and feare to the commens, than their obone honour or power. By which meanes many worthy cities haue often tymes ben dystroyed whyle the estates and commens contend the one, to ouercome the other, by one meane or other. And whyle the party bycroure wyll punyssh the ouer greuously that party which is ouercome. But if I wolde prepare to write of the besynes and dedes of both the parties seriatly and distinctly And yf I shuld touch al the maners of the cite acording to the gretnesse of the mater and as it requyryth: sothely the tyme shuld fayle me rather thā the mater. Wherfore I will omit this superfluous and infinite besynes, and retourne to my first mater and purpose touchyng this cronycle of this tyranne Jugurth.

Howe Metellus was create consull and sende by the Romaines to war agaynst Jugurth, and of the wyse and discrete behaueour of the same Metellus.  
(The. xxviii. Chapter.



After the truce and composition of Aulus before sayde made with Jugurth, and the foule and shamefull flyght of the Romaine army: Quintus Metellus, and Marcus Sillanus, wer create & proclaimed cōsuls of Rome, whiche acording to the olde custome parted and deuided the prouinces belonging to Rome betwene them both. The countrey of Numidi fell and happened to Metellus. This Metellus was a fierse man and a noble and a worthy warriour. And howe be it he fauored the party of the noble men and, was contrary to the party of the commens: neuertheles he was of fame vn-

## The batayle

despyled and vniolat & couēted of good name indifferēly  
on bothe parties. Allone as euer this Metellus entred  
in his office and dignite, he thought that euery thyng  
apartayning to his rowme and charge belōged aswell  
to his partyng felowe as to himselfe, saue the war of  
Numidy: whiche onely belonged to himselfe and to his  
particuler charge: Wherfore he commytted all other  
charges to Sillanus, and onely sette his mind to make  
prouysion for the war agaynst Jugurth. But bycause  
he mistrusted the olde army whiche was in Numidy  
with Albinus and Aulus, and had no confydence in the  
myndes of these soudyours corrupted with ydelnes and  
many other vices: therfore he elected & assembled newe  
soudyours. And of al such as were felowes and frendes  
confederate to the Romayns, he called for helpe and so-  
cours. He prepared & made redy armoure, weppyn, hōse  
harnes, and all other ordynaunce expediet to warfare.  
And also he ordained abundance of bytaysls. And shortly  
to speke all thyng he ordayned which ar wont to be  
necessary and profitable to the variable chaunces and  
incertayne accidentes, and ieopardies of warre which  
requyrez reparacion of many thynges and chargeable.  
But suche as were felowes of the empire of Rome at  
instaunce and request of the Senatours: and by theyr  
authorite and by the Latinians many other strange  
kinges of their own frewill sent socours to Metellus to  
auaunce him in his enterpryse. And shortly to speke the  
hōle citie laboured with all theyr might to socoure and  
ayde Metellus in his besynes. Thus at last whā euery  
thyng was provided & sette in order after his pleasure  
and intent: than toke he his iournay in Numidy, with  
great hope of all the citezins of Rome that for his good  
maners



maners: and specially for that his minde was vnouer-  
 come with ryches or couetise that he shulde do more ho-  
 nour to the empire then his predecessors had in the war  
 of Numidie. For before his departing the welth of Nu-  
 midie (by couetpse of the officers of Roome) was aug-  
 mented: but the welth of the Romaines wasted and di-  
 minyshed. When Metellus was come to Affrike, the  
 army was deliuered to hym by Albinus: which armye  
 was vncrestie, sluggish and feble, neyther able to en-  
 dure peryl nor labour: of tonge more readye, fierce and  
 hardy, then of hande: which was wont to pyl from fe-  
 lowes and frindes of the empire. But it self indured by  
 cowardise to be robbed and spoyled of ennemies of the  
 empire, as a laweles and disordred company of men vn-  
 gouerned and without authoritie or maners. Wherefore  
 Metellus the newe capitaine had muche more thought  
 and busynes, for such corrupt and vicious maners of a  
 companye so farre oute of order, than he hadde helpe or  
 good hope of conforste in the multitude of them. Thus  
 howe be it he sawe the tyme of election of newe consuls  
 drawe nere, and also though he vnderstode that the Ro-  
 maynes dayely looked after some ende of the warre.  
 These causes notwithstanding yet he concluded, not to  
 begyn warre, tyll he had exercised and bled the souldy-  
 ours with busines and labour after the instruction and  
 custume of olde captaines bled before his tyme. For  
 why, Albinus was so astonied wpth the aduersitie and  
 myschaunce of hys brother Alulus, and for the murther  
 of his host: þ after he purposed not to departe out of the  
 Romaines prouince which was in Affrike he kept þ soul-  
 diors alway idle in their tentes as long as somer lasted

## The batayle

and as long as he was in authoritie, in so much that they chaunged no place except the corrupt sauour of the place, or els necessitie of bytaile constrained them to remoue. Nor according to the custome and maner of warriours among them was no watche: but euerye manne came and went at his owne plesure, and absented them selfe from their standerds whan it lyked them. The scoliens and pages wandzed daye and nyght mingled amonge the horsemen and chief of the soldiours without any order. And many other as rousers dispersed abroad destroyed the countrey, fyghtyng against the small byllages and not against cities nor townes. They caried awaye from the said byllages praies of catell, and led awaye with them also the inhabitantes as prisoners with other praies, struiuing together who myght haue moste and than after chaunged the sayde robzies with marchants for delicious and stronge wyne caried from other straunge cuntreys, where better wyne grewe than in that cuntrey, and for other suche delicious thynges. They solde awaye the whete and other vitayles whiche was deliuerd of their captaines among them in commē and dayly they bought theire bread. And finally what so euer shame or rebuke longyng to couetise or lechery could eyther be saide, done, or imagined of any man, all was vsed in that hoste. And amonge some, more shame full dedes than ought to be named. But Metellus behaued him selfe as a mighty and wyse man, not lesse in this difficultie and hardnes, than if it had bene in a batayle foughten agaynst his enemies, as he which in the middes of so great couetise, voluptuositie, and crueltie, was singulerly induced with temperance: and he vsed meruelouse good maner in coartying the same faultes.

Wherefore

Wherefore at the fyrst beginning he withdrew & adoy-  
ded from the army at his comaundemēt and ordinance  
the occasions which stired the souldiours to such slouth,  
cowardise, and voluptuositie. For he commaunded vn-  
der great paine that no person shuld be so hardye to sell  
among the souldiours nother bread nor other vitaille al-  
redy dressed saue the common prouision: that the pages,  
waterlagers & scollions shuld not come nere the army  
nor folowe the same. That none of the commen & sym-  
ple souldiozs shuld kepe or maintaine seruant nor beast  
in their tentes nor byage, while they moued fro place to  
place. These inconueniences firste of all he redressed &  
reformed. After these amended, al other fautes he mesu-  
red bi his wisedome, craft, and pollicie: reforming them  
by litle and litle. This done (to haue his souldiozs occu-  
pied) he moued daylye from place to place: and that not  
in waies commen & bled, but by hard and vnoccupied  
waies. He caused them dayly to cast dyches & trenches  
about the armie, to the intente that they shuld not waie  
slouthful nor vicious, by ouermuch reste and ydlenesse.  
He ordeined ouermuche watch among thē euery night,  
and he hym selfe accompanied with his vndercaptains  
and head officers often serched if the watches were tru-  
ly kept cōpassing about the army on euery side. While  
they remoued & chaunged places, sometyme he was in  
the forward and among the firste, sometime in the rere  
ward or hinder part, and anone in the middes, ouerse-  
yng their order to the intente that none shuld passe oute  
of order, aray & place to them assigned. But kepe thicke  
together euery man and company about their owne sta-  
dards: and also he ordeined that among them selfe they  
shuld conuey & carpe their owne vitailles and armour.



## The batayle

And thus in shorthe tyme he confirmed and sette the armye in good order rather wyth faire wordes, or rebukinge and blaminge their faultes, and prohibitiinge their disorde: than in chastisinge or punyshynge their offences with rigour or crueltye.

¶ Of the behauiour of Jugurth against Metellus, and howe he sende embassadours to Metellus requyryng vnfaynedly to yelde up the kyngedom of Numidy to the empyre of Rome: and how Metellus behaued hym selfe agaynst the same embassadours.

The. xxiij. Chapter.

**I**n the meane season whan Jugurthe vnderstode by messangers and espyes of this behauiour of Metellus: and also whan he remembred that which was infourmed to him at Rome of the integritie and vndefiled name of Metellus, whiche wolde not be corrupte with money nor accloyed with bybes lyke other before: he began to mistruste his matters and to haue lesse confidence in his cause, thā euer he had before. In somuch that thā he began to labour to yelde himself vnfaynedly and to make a trewe composytion with Metellus and the Romayns without any fiction, gyle, or disceyt. Wherfore he sende embassadours with supplications and petitions, requyryng humbly of Metellus to graunt to him his owne lyfe: & the lyfe of his chyldren onely: and concerning al other thing he wold yelde the into y<sup>e</sup> handes of the Romayns. But Metellus knewe well ynough long before this tyme by often experience that the Numidians of natural disposicio wer vnfaythful, mouable and vnstable of minde: newfangled and much desirous of newe besynesse and nouelties. Wherfore he began with the embassadours of Jugurth, tastynge and prouynge the mynde of erche of them, by lytel & lytel, and separatly

one

one by one, And when he knewe that they somewhat inclyned to his purpose; he then promised to them great gyftes and promotions, so that they woulde doo some pleasure for hym, and for the Senators and people of Rome, Than at laste he counselled and desired them to deliuer Jugurth to hym a lyue, specialllye if it myghte be broughte a boote: And if they coulde not so, then to delyuer hym eyther quicke or dead. But when he had made this apointment secretly with the ambassadours deuided in sonder one by one, than openly that euerye man myght here, he shewed to them all together as his pleasure was that they shoulde certifie theyr kinge Jugurth concernynge theyr ambassade.

After this within fewe dayes when he sawe his host moste ready, and contrary to Jugurth he removed his tentes, and so addrested hym with his armye readye in aray, and wente forwarde into Numidye, where contrarye to any similitude of warre the byllages and cottages were full of menne, the fieldes full of beastes and tyllmen, and euerye where as muche plentye of people yonge and olde, namelye rude people and tyllers of the grounde, whych hadde well fledde before the armye in fore tyme for feare: but at laste when they sawe no defence nor socoure, the kynges liefetenautes and all other lefte theyr townes, villages, and lodges, and went forth to meeie Metellus wyth all humilitie, honour, and seruite submittyng them selfe to hym, and readye to gyue to him wheate and other corne such as they had. And to cary vitayles after his hooft to ease the souldyours to do and pafourne all other thynges what euer they were comaunded. But for all this, Metellus was not lesse diligent nor circumspect in ordering of his host  
but

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but proceded forward togyder with his army in aray redy in armour, & defended as if theyr enemies had ben nere at hand serchyng the cuntrey abrode on euery syde by his espyes doutynge treason and thynking that all these tokens of subiection were but for a face or cloke to couer the treason and gyle of Jugurth. And so by such dysceyt to wayt a tyme to execute his treason. Wherefore Metellus thus mysdemyng kept himselfe in the forwarde of the hoost with an elect and chosen company of archers, syngers, and other lyke souldyours apoynted in lyght harnes. His vnder captayne Caius Marius had rule and charge of the rereward among the horsmen and on bothe the wynges of his hoost he ordayned horsmen and other souldyours for supplement, subsidy, and socours of the forwarde yf nede shulde requyre, and among them to expell their enemies on what syde so euer they shuld come, wether mengled botomen and other lyght harnenised fotemen wth dartes, pikes, and iauelins to trouble the horsmen of theyr enemies. For in Jugurth was so muche gyle so great experience and knowledge of the cuntrey, and also so great practyse of chynualrie: that a man coude not well know whether he were more to be doutted or more greuous in peace or in wate or whyle he was absent or present.

Not farre from that way whiche Metellus helde with his army was a towne of the Numidians muche acustomed and frequented of marchantes of Italy and other strange cuntreys: and the princypal market towne of al the kingdom of Numidi. This towne was named Uacca, Metellus drew him and his army thyder, and set garnyson into the same towne. This dyd he to proue the inhabytantes: for if they had kept forth the garnyson than



than shulde they euidently haue declared themselfe enemies of the Romayns. And also he ledde a garnyson thyder to thintent to haue taken the towne by force of armes, yf the inhabytauntes wolde not haue admytted the same garnyson. Also he commaunded vytayls, and all other thinges necessary or expedient to warre for to be brought thyder thinkinge (as the case required) that the concours of marchantes resoptyng thither, and his good prouision of vytayls shulde be great defence and conseruacyon for him & his army bothe in warre and in peace. But whan the citezins sawe such purueyance as he made of vitels considryng that he shulde not hurt nor disprouyde the whyle he had vitail ynough of his owne prouyson: anon they opened the gates and suffred hym to entre withall his garnyson and retynue. But in the mean tyme Jugurth agayne sende his embassadours to Metellus more diligentlie and instantly than he had done befoze, mekely beserching & requyryng him of peace And yeldyng to him euerye thinge, onely reserued his owne lyfe: and the lyfe of his chyldren. Metellus sende these embassadours home agayne attysed to the prodycio of their master Jugurth as he had done to the other embassadours which were sent befoze. But concernyng the peace which they desyzed in their maisters name: neyther he graunted nor vtterly denyed it. And in this prolongyng of tyme he loked alway after parfourmyng of the promesse of the other embassadours, which befoze had graunted to the betrayeng of Jugurth. But whan Jugurth considzed and pondered togyder the wordes and dedes of Metellus, & whan he percepued in mynde himselfe assayled with his owne craftes of subtylte: and that Metellus bled suche craftes againste him, as he

## The batayle

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himselfe had vsed agaynst other: than was his mynde greued most of all. For Metellus sayned peace, but in very dede he shewed sharpe warre. Jugurth thus considered also: that his greatest towne named Uacca, was alienate and lost from him: his enimies by longe continuance and exercise knew the coostes of his countrey of Numidy. The myndes of his lordes and commens were prouoked and moued agaynst him. When he aduised these dyfficulties with other mo contray to hym he concluded and fullye determined at laste to resyste and withstand Metellus in batayl, with strength and force of armes and no farther to meke noz submitte himselfe by petition.

Howe Jugurth prepared and addressed hym selfe to warre, and what ordinaunce and pollicye he vsed agaynst the newe consull Metellus.

### The. cxx. Chapter.



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Wherefore Jugurth thus determininge to assaile Metellus caused his wayes to be espyed, hauyng hope of victorie by auancement and auantage of some place: where he intended of the place and countrey: and anone prepared the greatestt army that he coude of all sortes of people. This done, he dyd so much that by hys narrowe passages and bypathes he preuented and ouerpassed the hoost of Metellus.

In that parte of Numidi whiche before in deuision of the kingdom was assigned in possessyon to Adherbal was a flodde named Muthull, rennyng from the meridyonall parte of the countrey. A certaine hyl and longe was nere to this water, so that at any place the hyl was about .xx. myle from the streame and of equall dystance

in

in length. The ground of this hill was of suche nature that euer it was barayne, wherfore it was not apte to mennes habitation but deserte. Aboute the myddes and pendant of it was an other hill smaller of quantite: but of an vnmesurable height couered and all ouergrowne with wyld olyue trees, with myr trees, and other sortes of trees wont to grow naturally on dry & sandy ground. The playne bytweene the hills and the water was desert and inhabitable for lacke of water: saue such places of the playne as were nere to the flodde of Muthul which parte was growen with smal trees, and occupied with men and beastes. Jugurth came to the saide small hyll whych descended from the pendante of the greater hyll ouerthwart the valey. And there toke place with his armie not together, but dispersed abrode amonge the trees by companies and bendes: he made his frind Bomilchar capitaine and gouernoure of his olyphantes, and of part of his army of foteinen, and inforimed hym partitely howe he shuld behaue hym selfe, and gouerne them whome he hadde committed to hym bothe befoze the batayle, and also in the batayle whan it came to the poynte. But he hym selfe dyetoe nerer to the greate hyll with all the hozlemen and many of the footemen whiche were electe and chosene menne, and set them in order and in aray with much policie & wisedome. This done he hym selfe went about & compassed euerye companie, cohort, and bende singulerly, and one by one warninge & requiring the to call to their mindes their olde strength, nobles and victorie: and therby to defend themselves and their cuntrey of Numidy from the immoderate couetyse of the Romayns, which were not content nor satisfied with the possession of the most part of the world:



## The batayle

sayinge fathermore that they shuld fight but with suche as they before had ouercome and subdued. And how be it they had chaunged theyr capytayne: the cowardise of their hertes was not chaunged: Also he reherfed and declared to them that he had made all prouision for the which a capytayne might or ought to make for his army. He declared howe he had taken for them the vpper place: that they were crafty in batayle and many in nombre: and shulde fyght with a fewe vncrafty cowardes. Wherefore he desyred & exhorted them when tyme shuld come that than they wolde be redy to assaile the Romayns manly at sounde of the trumpettes, for that one same day sayd he shuld other establishe al theyr labours victories, and besynesses: or els it shulde be the herd and beginning of their most great mischief, and distruction. Moreouer throughe out all his army he put them in remembrance man by man of the benefytes which he had done to them before for their manly dedes of chyualtry: as suche as for their worthynes he had rewarded with dignite, money offices, or other worshyp: & shewed suche vnto other comen souldyours sayenge that if they wolde so demeaner themselves manly: so shuld they be promoted and auanced to worshyp & ryches. And thus he comforted the all euery man after his maners and condicions, some with gyftes, some with promesse, some with thzettinges, and other lyke ways accordynge to the disposition of their mindes and nature.

Wyle Jugurth thus exhorted his souldyours Metellus nought knowyng of his enemies aperted with his company dyscedyng downe the pendant of the great hyl which at first seyng but fewe men much marueyled what it might signifie, for he suspected nothyng lesse than

than bataile, but in beholding moze intentifely toward the top of the small hyl afoze hym, he espyed among the yonge trees both hozses and men which were not fully hyd, because of the lowenes of the trees: yet was he incerteine what it might be. For what by secretnes of the place, and what by gyle of Jugurth, theire baners and the most parte of the souldiours were obscured and hyd lyinge downe vpon the ground. But anone after when he perceined this gyle and treason: by litle and lytle, he set his army in araye proceding forward styl as he dyd befoze, sayninge hym selfe ignozant of the treason. But he chaunged the order of his souldiours, & on the right winge which was next to the Numidiens his enemies, he ordeyned as it were a forward enforced with a thre-fold subsidie or socour, that is to saye with thre bendes of proued souldiours to rescue & help them when nede shulde be. The archers, such as with synges shuld cast against their enemies plānets of lead and yron, and al other which were of lyght harnes: all these he deuided amonge the standerdes of other souldiours as the case required: where as after the right ordinaunce of batail, such souldiours by them selfe deuided shulde begin the batayle: but in this bataile the situation of the place not so required. All the hole cōpany of his hozsemen he ordezed in the extremities and corners of the fore front of the batayle. This done as the breuitie of the tyme suffered, he made a shorfe exhortacion vnto his souldiours, and so proceded forth with his hooft set in a raye in maner beforesaid. But because Jugurth was on the small hyl befoze hym, and by that meane on the hyer ground he thoughte to remedye that incommoditie, and ledde forth his hooft on the side halfe, not toward Jugurth,

## The batayle

but alonge on the hill to warde the flodde Muthul, into  
þ playne which was betwene the hyl and the flod. But  
whan he sawe the Numidiens quyet and that they de-  
parted not from the hyl whiche they had taken, he con-  
sidzed the hete and feruentnes of the somer season. And  
lest his army might perishe for lacke or scarcite of wa-  
ter: he sent befoze one of his capitayns named Rutilius  
with a cōpany of lyght harnessed souldyours & parte of  
his hozsmen vnto the flodde named Muthul for to take  
bp a place wherin they might set their tentes in tyme of  
nede: thinking that his ennemies wyllng to continue  
longe in that place by often assautes and scyzmisches  
shuld disturbe the Romayns whyle they resorted to the  
water. And for asmuche as the Numidiens trusted not  
much in their strength and armour. He thought that  
they purposed and intended to trouble his soldyours  
with werynes and thirst. Whan Rutilius was gone to  
warde the water, Metellus descended procedyng forth  
withal by lytel and lytel as the mater and place requy-  
red: he commaunded one named Marius, with his com-  
pany to kepe in the rerewarde. But Metellus himselte  
with the hozsmen kept him in the lyfte wyng of the  
forward of the batayle, which alway remoued forward  
first of all his army.

Of the fyrst batayle foughten betwene Metellus and Jugurth.  
The. xxj. Chapter.



But whan Jugurthe sawe that the rere-  
warde of Metellus was passed his fore-  
ward: he beset the hyl from which Metel-  
lus descended with two thousand fotemen  
by which garniso if Metellus wold again  
take



take socour of the same hyll, he shuld be prohibyted and  
 dryuen backwarde agayne into the handes of Jugurth.  
 This done: sodenly he dyd the trumpetes to be blowne  
 and anone withall, inuaded and set vpon the company  
 of Metellus on euery syde. The Numidyens assayled  
 and bete downe the Romayns, some on the rereward  
 and other some dyd their deuoyze to breke the aray on  
 both sydes: both on the ryght and lyft wyng, withall  
 their myght assaylyng the Romanys, and auaucing  
 them selte on euery syde to breake their aray and ordi-  
 nauce: & after theyr power to trouble, disturb, & deuide  
 them. The Romayns whyche were mooste stable and  
 bolde of mynde in metynge their enemies were abused  
 and deceyued wyth the vncertaine bataile. For their or-  
 dinaunce and aray was set and strengthened only but on  
 one syde. But their ennemies assayled them on euery  
 syde: so that somtyme they were stricken and wounded of  
 their ennemies from farre of, but by no meanes coulde  
 they strike their enemies againe, nor ioyne wyth them.  
 For Jugurth had taught his Numidiās on horseback  
 before the bataile, that whan they shuld begyn to assaile  
 the Romains: they shuld not kepe thē selfe together, nor  
 nere, but as much disperfed as they coulde, & in diuers  
 places: one company here, and an other ther. And wher  
 the souldiozs of Jugurth could not auoyd nor repel the  
 Romains whiche assayled thē, because they were mo in  
 nombze: therfore they cōpassed and trapped thē behinde  
 or on the sides beaten of & disioyned from their compa-  
 nie. And wher it fortunied any of thē to flee, the Numy-  
 dians had more auantage then y Romains. For where  
 they fled into the fieldes, they assailed the Romains on  
 the backe halfe or els on both sides in diuers cōpanies,  
 But

## The batayle

But where they sawe it was moze auayle and expediēt  
to fle agayne to the hyl where they set first their ordy-  
naunce. They had also auantage therby for their horses  
wer acustomed to mountaynes and combed wayes,  
wherfore they mounted with lesse difficultie, but in con-  
trary wise the Romayns for the sharpnes of the hylles  
and lacke of vse could not folowe them in their assēding  
without much difficulte, payne, and peryll. But not  
withstandyng that Jugurth and his men had the most  
auantage of the countrey and grounde, yet the batayle  
on both sides was variable, vngoodly, vncertein & mis-  
erable to behold: for the best men sonest were slayne & in  
most ieopardy. For the corage & valyant mindes & bold  
hertes of the Romans: was worth w the gyle & treson  
of y Jugurthyngs: & so on both sydes he which was bol-  
dest & most auanced himselfe was sonest ouerthrowen  
Some which were deuyded from their owne company  
and in hande of their ennemies, gaue place to them and  
yelded themselves. And agayne some folowed and chased  
their ennemies sleynge: where they myght make their  
party good: there resysted eyther partie manly. None of  
bothe parties kept vnder their standerdes: nor folowed  
not the order of batayle: nor kept none order nor array,  
but euery man resysted & defended hymselfe ther where  
most ieopardy & perill was laied to him: and endeuored  
hymselfe to withstande vyolence of his ennemis with  
hys valyante. And so the armour defensyfe, dartes, mē  
horse, Romayns, Numidians, souldyours, and pages  
were all confounded and mengled together: withoute  
order or ordinaunce obserued. Nothyng was done with  
dyscreSSION of the souldyours nor with counsell of the  
captayns: vnauysed fortune and chaunce gouerned all  
the

the bysynesse of that day : so vnstable was the batayle. All was committed to rule of fortune , and thus passed forth muche , of the day in great murder and slaughter yet styl was the end of the batayle vncertayne and none knewe whyther partye shulde haue the victoꝛye. At last bothe parties with labour and heat began to languyshe and become wery. Metellus vnderstandynge that the Numidians lesse resysted in fyghtyng than they dyd before assembled and gathered togyder agayne his souldyours by lytell and lytell , and without tary restored the aray and set them agayne in oꝛder. And.iiii.cohozts taken foꝛthe of the legyons he set agaynst the fotemen of his ennemies. But before Metellus had thus assembled his compauy : a great parte of them oppꝛessed with woundes and werynesse, withdꝛew themselfe to the hyl before named and to the hyer places from the batayle ther to refreche and rest themself. But whan Metellus (as sayd is) had reassembled them againe : he began in fewe wordes to pray and exhoꝛt them in such maner.

**C**o woꝛthy and trusty souldyours and companyons dyscourage not your selfe in this batayle , noꝛ lette not your olde noblenesse now faile you : suffre not your ennemies wont to put their trust in flyght, now to ouercome you by your ferefull myndes. Remembꝛe well: if ye be disposed cowardly to flee: ye haue no tentes, no cities, no townes, no castels, noꝛ no maner places of defence: wherto ye may ren foꝛ refuge and saue your selfe: your helth, your hope, and defence is onely in your armoure and strength: and specially in your bold hert. Wherfoꝛe dere frendes remembꝛe your olde woꝛthypp. and suffre not the hole empire of Rome to suffre diswoꝛthypp by your temerous and cowarde myndes. Remembꝛe it



## The batayle

woorthyer to dye in batayl lyke men than to fle, and than to be taken and murdred lyke bestes, or to dye in prison. With these wordes and such lyke Metellus recōforted the hertes of his soudyours . But in meane tyme Jugurth for his part was not ydle, quiet nor lesse prouidēt but compassed and went about his men confortyng and exhortyng thē also and prayng their dedes. He renued the batayle also for his part: and among the myddes of elect soudyours he fought and proued thertremite of euery thyng: & assaid al meanes wherby any auantage might be wonne confortyng and socouringe men with wordes, dedes, and exāple. He boldly fought and assailed suche of the Romayns as were in fear or dout: and suche as he knew and proued bolde and stedfast, he kept them of with arrowes, iauelyns, and dartes that they coude not approche to their felowes to auaunce them nor to be socoured of thē. Thus two worthy men noble & excellēt captayns fought & cōtended togeder bytwene themselfe. They themselfe lyke in strength, courage, wysdoome, and policy: but of things longyng to chivalry vnlke of prouision. For Metellus had strength of soudiours sufficiently: but the auantage of the countrey and place was muche contrary to him. But Jugurth had euery thing necessary & expedient, saue company of men of armes whiche he wanted.

¶ At last the Romayns whā they vnderstode that ther was no sure place wherto they might fle: and also that they coude finde no meanes to fight with their enemies indifferently hande to hande. And that the night was come vpon them: at laste they ascended vpon the toppe of an hill which was ouer against them like as Metellus their captayne commaunded them to do. For the  
Rumi

Numidians had lost that place and were fled and spred  
abrode dispersed, but fewe of them were slayne: for they  
were swyfte, and the countrey was not well knownen to  
the Romaines to pursue the: wherby many of the Nu-  
midians were defended: and so by flyght escaped. But  
Jugurth with his horsemen of gard for his body: fled  
also from the batayle whan he had longe foughten and  
sawe none auaille nor auantage.

¶ Howc Bomylchar vnder captayne of Jugurth and hys companye were  
discomfited by Rutilius vnder captayne of Metellus.

The. cccii. Chapter.

**I**n the meane season Bomylchar, whome  
Jugurth hadde made maister of hys Oli-  
phantes, and of a parte of hys foote menne  
(as I haue wyrtten before) asloone as he  
saw that Rutilius (whych Metellus had  
sente vnto the flodde of Muthull to prouyde a place for  
theyre tentes) was ouerpassed hys companye, by lytle  
and lytle he conuayed and ledde downe hys companye  
into a playne. And while this Rutilius hastened hym to-  
warde the flodde as he was commaunded of Metel-  
lus. Bomylchar set hys companye in order and araye  
styll and quyetlye as the matter and case requyred.  
And in the meane time he forgatte not to searche by es-  
pyes what Metellus dydde, and what waye Rutilius  
toke toward the sayd flodde, and in what maner he be-  
haued hym selfe and guided hys armye. Wherfore after  
he vnderstode by his espyes that Rutilius with his co-  
pany had take their place by the said flod wher he wold  
abide, & was boide of busines, quiet & douting no peril.  
And on the other syde when he vnderstode y the crye of  
the bataile betwene Jugurth and Metellus encreased,

## The batayle

he feared lest Rutilius (if he vnderstode therof) wolde leue his place by the flodde: and retourne to the batayle to socour his felowes which were in ieopardy. In this consideracion Bomilchar: where as before he had ordered his army nere togyder by craft and that bycause he mystrusted the courage of his men: and in their boldnes had no great confidence. Therfore now agayne he deuyded them abrode muche larger than they were before: and so proceded toward the tentes of Rutilius to thintent to lette hym and his company on euery syde, if they prepared toward rescous of Metellus. Rutilius and his company suspectynge no peryll sodaynlie of vnware aduysed great vpolence of smoke and duste styred vp & rayled by mouyng of the ground: but what it mighte be they coulde not parceiue by any meane by cause of the thiknesse of yonge trees that grewe on all the ground bytween them which letted their sight. First of al they thought it had proceded of dynes of grounde by mouyng of the winde. But afterwarde whan they sawe the same smoke and dust continue styll after one maner: & that the same approched alwaye nerer & nerer likewise as the company of their ennemies moued and drezwe toward them. Than they parceyued and knewe the mater as it was: and in al hast every man toke to him his harnesse: and stode redy before the defence of their tentes as their captaine Rutilius had ordered and commaunded them every man redy at defence and in aray. After whan their enemies approched nerer with an horryble noise and cry, they ranne togidze on bothe parties. The Numidiens did but onely continue the skirmishe abidinge and loking after their eliphantes in helpe of whom was al their trust. But whan they sawe that



that their eliphantes wer stopped and lette with thyrkenesse of the bowes of the trees : and so taried and kept from their socours by the compassing of the Romayns so that in them was no trust of socours. Than all they toke them to flight with all their power. But many of them (leuing their armour behinde them) escaped without wounde by helpe of the hylls which were about the place: which they coude better and quicklier ascend than the Romans. And also by socour of the darknes of the night (which than was at hande) many of them escaped hole and sounde and saued themselfe. Foure of the elyphantes were taken and all the remenaunt (fourty in nombze) were slain. Whan this was done: the company of Rutilius, notwithstandinge that they were fatigate and toeried with great iourneis befoze, and also with muche labour in ordering of their tentes: and with the sayd bataile of skyzmythe: neuertheles whan they sawe that Metellus their chiefe captaine taried longer than they thought he wolde haue done, if all thyng had hapened well wyth hym, they ordzed them selfe redy & diligently went backward againe to mete hym. For the falsehode and gyle of Jugurth and of the Numidians caused them to be busye, diligent, and circumspect in euerie thyng for sauegard of their lyues, and suffered them to do nothinge slowely nor with delaying. But whē they were in their iourney in y darkenes of the night the companies on bothe parties were not far in sunder the one from the other: & bothe parties approched together not knowinge eche other as if they had ben ennemies. The one against the other makyng noyse and clamour eche one increasing feare to other as warriours are wont to do at beginning of batail. In somuch y a miserable destruction:

## The batayle

struction and murdye had almost ben cōmitted bytween them by their imprudent negligence, if the espyes and hozsmen which were sent bytweene them on bothe sydes had not with moze diligēce & wyselyer espied the treuth of the mater. But whan the parties knewe eche other, their sadnes and feare tourned to great ioye and gladnesse. The souldyours ioyfully anone met together one saluting and welcoming other. One shewed to other their actes done on bothe parties: and ioyous they were to here on both sides euery mā cōmending and exalting their own dedes, and also the dedes of other vnto heuen with mirthe and gladnesse. And that aswell suche as were worthy men as vnwoorthy cowardis ascribed to themselfe worthynesse. And certes in suche busynesse it often happeneth, that on that side whiche hath victorie: such as be but cowards, rude and vncrafty, exalteth thē enioyeth, and may boſt themself on other mennes dedes and worthynesse. But in cōtrary wyse on that partie whiche is ouercom though many be good warryours, noble and worthy men: yet ar they reputed for cowards without policie, bycause of other mens cowardyse and aduersite of fortune. Thus farethe it in skirmishes of bataile. But whan Metellus and Rutilius (as I haue said before) wer met together & reherſed their actes one to other Metellus hasted him with all his army to the flodde of Muthull, and taried in the places and tentes which Rutilius had prepared and sojourned there the space of foure daies. In this season he was besy in refreshing and healing his souldyours whiche were wounded, suche as manly had behaued themselfe in the bataile he worthely rewarded them, he called them togyder al into one cōpany & greatly lauded and com-  
mended

mended the m : thanking and much praysing the for the great diligence, paine, and labours: which they had taken in defence of the honour & dignite of their empire with suche wordes.

**C** Worthy souldyours ye se nowe that, the hardest of our labour is ouerpasse by your boldnes and manhod wherfore I exhorte you: be ye of lyke courage in the residue of our besynesse, whiche shalbe but light and easy in coparison of this which is ouerpasse. The beginning and first brunt of euery besynesse is hardest. Which shall be but light vnto bolde and circumspect beginners and constant folowers of their eneterprises. But this beginning ye haue manly overcome by constant labour as a thinge most easy. Inough haue we foughte already for y glorie of victorie: for that haue we optayned in the firste conflicte. If we labour or fight any moze it shalbe but onely for prayes and robberies of our enemies wherby we shalbe enryched in substance: like as we nowe be inhaunced with glorie of victorie. Wherfore my dere felowes and mooste constaunte friendes of the common welth, nowe I exhorte you for complement of all your honozable faimr, to remembre your old accostomed worthynes: and suffer not thys excellent honour and glory whiche ye haue now optayned by boldenes: to be quenched and decaye againe by ignominious cowardyse.

**C** With such wordes & many other like Metellus recomforted his copaynte, and maruelously kindled their courage to the desire of honour by valiant feates of armes. But in the meane season the knowne gyle of Jugurthe went not fro his mynd: & therfore to exclude al danger of trese, he sente certaine of y Numidiās, which betraying Jugurth had forsaken him & fled to the Romains:

an.



## The batayle

and also w<sup>th</sup> them he sente forth the diuerse other of hys  
 owne companie whiche were expert of the cuntry, and  
 oportune to suche businesse to serche and espye amonge  
 what people or in what place Jugurth helde hym selfe:  
 and wherein he was occupped. Whether he kepte hym  
 with a smal company, or whether he hadde an army re-  
 assembled for a newe batayle, and how he behaued him  
 selfe, and where about he went sythe he was overcome.  
 But Jugurth had conuayed him selfe into suche places  
 as were full of dyches, valeis, hylles, trees, bushes, and  
 dales defended of nature. And there had he assembled a  
 gayne a newe armie of men mo in numbze than he had  
 before. But they were but vncrafty, inexpert, and dul to  
 bataile: and could better fyl the ground and kepe beas-  
 tes, then exercise the dedes of chualrie. For therto had  
 they neuer ben bled before: but in the other scruple oc-  
 cupacions and busineses had they ben occupied al their  
 lyfe tyme without intermition of other occupation.  
 It fortuned that Jugurth had non other souldiozs but  
 suche rurall people aboute hym at thys tyme, namelye  
 for this cause. For whan he fled from the bataile fough-  
 ten before with Metellus, none of all his souldiozs fo-  
 llowed hym, except the hozsemen of his gard. For al the  
 other souldiozs departed where it lyked them best. For  
 this is not counted nor reputed for any fault or rebuke  
 among the Numidian souldiours. For suche is the co-  
 stume of the cuntry: whan the captaine fleeth, the hoile  
 forsaketh hym.

What waste and destruction Metellus made in the londe of Numidie  
 after this first batayle and syght of Jugurth: and of the gyle of Jugurth  
 agaynst Metellus.

The. xxvi. Chapter.

Whan



Whan Metellus vnderstode by his espies that the mynd of Jugurth continued yet styl in his olde fiercesnes & crueltie, though he was lately ouercome in bataile. And whan Metellus sawe that Jugurth renewed the warre againe, and prepared a new bataile: which could not be done but at the pleasure of Jugurthe, because he had taken suche a place to abyde in that no man coulde conueniently contende with hym for difficultie thereof. Metellus this knowing aduised himselfe of many thinges. Namely he considred that they were not indifferēt and egall on both parties in executyng therof. For al if that he had the vpper hand ouer Jugurth, and had put him to flight, yet lost he mo men, and had moze damage in ouercomyng hym, then Jugurth had which was ouercome. For this cōsideracion Metellus purposed no moze to contend with him in plaine fildes nor in ordzed bataile, but by an other maner to execute war with him from thence forth. This determined: Metellus with his hole host and ordinaunce went forth into the moste ryche and plentefull places of all Numidye, and there wasted and destroyed the fieldes and contrey on enerye side. He toke without any resistance castles and townes not strongly defended with walles, dyches, nor garnyson. And bzente and beate them downe to the grounde. All suche as came in his waye and were able to beare harnesse, full grown to age and apte to batayle he slew and rydde out of hand. Thinkyng that the mo he slew, the fewer aduersaries and ennemies shulde he haue to contende againste hym. He commaunded his souldiours to spare no robbery nor prayes, but gaue all thyng ha-uocke amonge his souldiours.

## The batayle

**F**or feare of this crueltie many of the Numidyens yelded themselfe to the Romaines : and gaue vnto them hostages, bytaile, soldpours, and all other thinges necessary abundauntly. In some towne whiche were taken: Metellus sette defence and garnison tohere nede requyred and fortified them sufficiently. This besinesse troubled the mind of Jugurth muche more than the bataile that was foughten before to his great damage and discomfort of his men. For he lost more people by this way than by any other meane before. Thus Jugurth whiche before put all his hope and trust in his flyght: was nowe of necessite compelled to folowe and pursue his ennemies: and he whiche could not defende his owne places whiche styll remianed in his possession was constrained nowe to warre in those coostes, which Metellus had wonne of him to recouer them if fortune wolde suffre him. Neuertheles of suche poore thyft and counsel as he had he toke the best which could be taken by his aduyle in such extreme necessite. He cominaūded his army for the most part to remayne styll in the same place where they were. And he himselfe with a cōpany of horsemen whiche wer bolde and chosen men ensued Metellus priuely, making his iourneis by night tyme by bitwaies & secrete valeys. And at last sodeinly of vnwares he fel vpon a part of the Romaines which were dispersed abrode frō the host in foraging and spoyling. Many of thē without armour wer slaine, & many takē. None of thē al scaped clen nor fre without dāmage, but ether wer slaine or els soze wounded. Whē Jugurth had done this skirmysh anone he withdrew him selfe & his cōpany into the hyls & mountaines next to thē: before a nyte socours or rescous myght come from Metellus to reuenge.



revenge their treason and deathe of the Romaynes.

Of the great ioye that was demeaned at Rome for thys worthy behaueour of Metellus, and how he guided hym selfe and hys army to conserue and augment this honour which he had gotten.

The. xxiii. Chapter.

**W**hile Metellus and Jugurthe strined thus together: the one to manhode, wisdom & strength, the other with treason craft and gyle: tydings were brought to Rome of this noble behaueour of Metellus.ouer all the citie was demeaned great ioye and gladnes for that Metellus behaued himself and gyded his army acording to the maner and ordinance of olde noble capitains of the Romains befoze his days. And howe be it he was in place aduerse & contrary to him, yet had he y<sup>e</sup> vpper hande of his ennemies as victorie ouer the. And by his strength & manhod he had in possession the countrey of his ennemies: and had driuen the from place to place. All these things consolidated: they much reioyced & greatly comended Metellus: namely for y<sup>e</sup> he had caused Jugurth to put his trust of helth only in fleyng into the mountaines & wildernes which befoze was magnificent and proud by the feare & cowardise of Nulus predecessor of Metellus. Wherfoze for these fortunat & glorious dedes of Metellus, y<sup>e</sup> Senatours decreed & commaunded ouer all the citie sacrifices and suffrages to be done to their ydolles. The citizens which befoze were fearful & soze troubled douting the vnshure chance and incertaine fortune of the ende of this warre demeaned nowe amonge them myrth and gladnesse ouer all. The honour and fame of Metellus was recounted very noble, excellent, & glorious in euery mans mouth. Wherfoze he so much was the moze diligent & labored moze busely towarde the victorie laboring & hastnyng to

## The batayle

finyſhe the warre by all meanes and wayes ſo it might be to his honour and confuſion of Jugurth. But neuertheles he was well ware from puttyng himſelfe in danger of his ennemies: and was ware exchuyngē oportunitie of their gyle in euery place where he went. He remēbred well and conſydzed that often after laude and glozie foloweth enuy and euyl wyl. And therfore howe muche moze noble that he was reputed: the moze beſy and dilygent he was to meynstayne his fame and honour, and in dzedē to loſe this worthy fame whiche he optayned. Noz after the forſayd gyle of Jugurth he ſuffred not his hooſt to deuide noz to departe themſelfe diſperſed one from an other: noz to make excourſes to forage oz ſpoyle in diuers places far dyſtant in ſonder. But whan they had neede eyther of mannes meate oz horſemeate: all the horſemen with great companyes of the ſotemen, went forth and kept them nere about ſuche as were ſende forthē to make prouiſion to defende and ſocour them: if nede ſhulde requyze. Metellus himſelfe deuyded his hooſt in two partes: the one part he kept with himſelfe: and the other he commytted to a noble warriour of his hooſt named Marius, bytweene them both they diſtroied and waſted the contrey on euery ſide but rather with fire than with robbry oz prayes. Metellus and Marius ſet their tentes in places not farar diſtant in ſondze. But whan any perillous oz nedy beſines was to be done with Jugurth oz his company whiche required great might: than anone Metellus and Marius were redy together: but they kept themſelfe thus in ſonder in diuerſe places to trouble the Numidiens, and increaſe their feare moze largely in eueery cooſt: and to make them fle and auoyde fer abzode in cōpas for fear.

At this season Jugurth ensued by the hylles and desert places sekynge and espyeng a conuenient season or place to make some skirmishe with the Romains (that is to say) if he coude espy any parcell of them sekynge forth fountayns of water for the army of the which was much penury in those costes. If he might any such espy than anone wold he breke downe from the hylles vpon them. Somtyme he shewed himselfe to Metellus somtyme to Marius, somtyme he wolde assemble his company togyder in a bend as if he wolde fight with the Romayns to attēpt them, and after wold he retourne againe vnto the mountaynes. And afterwarde sodenly appere againe thzetting nowe the one company of the Romayns, and nowe the other. Yet wold he neyther anētūre batayle nor suffre neyther the Romayns to be ydle or in rest, nor yet himselfe. His mynde was onely sette to kepe his ennemies from their begynnynge and purpose of distroying of the contrey which they intēded.

How Metellus besieged Samam one of the strongest townes of Numidie, and how Marius vndercaptayne of Metellus escaped the daunger of Jugurth.  
The. xxxv. Chapter.



When Metellus sawe hym selfe so weryed with the gyles and craftes of Jugurth and that by no policy he coude haue faculty or tyme to fight with him in playn batayle: at last he concluded to besiege & assaile a great towne named samā, which was the most chife & strongest holde of all the realme of Numidy in that part of the lande where it was buylded. And so sped him thyder with all his army & ordinaunce wher the sayd holde was (thinkyng as the mater requyred) that Jugurth woulde drawe thither for defence of his chife towne and for so-



## The batayle

cour and relese of his people and so shuld the batayle be there foughten bytweene thē. But whā Metellus was in his iourney thyder warde, anone were certayn of his army whiche fled to Jugurth and certified him of this prouision and interprise of Metellus. Whan Jugurth herof was certified he hasted him by gret iourneis so þ he ouerpassed the cōpapp of Metellus and came to the towne of zamam befoze him; and there exhorted the inhabitātes boldly to defend þ walles. And farthermoze assigned to socour and helpe thē all suche as had fled frō the Romains, & had brought him those tidings. These traitours were the surest men which Jugurth had. For they could not disceiue him, but if they wold yelde them agayne to the Romains whome they had forsaken and betrayed which thing was not sure to them to do. Whā Jugurth had ioyned these souldiours to the garnison & socours of þ towne and castell, & had ordred & apointed all other thinges acording to his mind: thā he promised to be there agayne with them with all his hole army in tyme of nede. This done he departed frō the towne into the most preuy and secret places which he knewe in his cōntrei ther by. But whā Metellus was in his iourney toward zaman, he send Marius for prouision of whete and other corne and vitayle for the army vnto a towne named Sicca, which was þ first towne þ forsoke Jugurth & was yelded to Marius after þ batell late foughten with Jugurth to his great damage. Whā Jugurth had knowledg herof he went thyder by nyght priuely to his elect souldiours so þ whā Marius had sped his maters & was redy to depart forth of þ town: Jugurth was redy at þ gates to assayl þ Romains cruelly crieng to a hye voyce to them of the towne and exhortynge thē

to assail þ Romaines also on þ backehalf:saing þ fortune  
 had offred to thē þ chaunce of a noble acte of an excellēt  
 & glorious dede:so that (if they wold folowe his desire)  
 they shulde restore him againe into his kingdome, and  
 thē selfe into their lybertie & frō thens forth passe their  
 tyme without peryl, wythout danger oz drede. And cer-  
 teynly if Marius had not boldly and strongly broken  
 out of the towne with his stādardes and men of armes  
 thzough the thickest of his enemies which wer in þ ga-  
 tes. All they of the towne oz þ most part wold haue bro-  
 ken their othe & pꝛomes which thei had made before to  
 Metellus whē thei first yelded thēself & the citie to him.  
 The mundes of the Numidiās be so vnstedfast & moua-  
 ble. But Jugurth so cōforted his souldioꝝs þ they resi-  
 sted the Romaines a litle seasō. But whē Marius & his  
 cōpani began to encrease their violence against þ Jugur-  
 thins, and moze fierly to pꝛease vpon thē. Anone some  
 wer slain, & the residue fled with their master Jugurth.  
 This daunger ouer passed : Marius departed thens  
 toward the tobon of samā, & at the last came thither safe  
 with al his cōpany & busines sped wherfoze he was sēt.  
 ¶ This Samam was a towne bylded in the playne  
 grounde without hylles oz waters nere it defended ra-  
 ther by the warke of mannes hande, than by nature of  
 the place. In it sayled nothing necessary to batayle. For  
 it was wel garnished both with men, ordinaūce, vitails,  
 & armoure. Anone whā Marius was come: Metellus  
 acorðyng to the tyme and place made redy all thynges  
 necessary and compassed the walles on euery syde with  
 his army:assigning to euery one of his bndercapitains  
 a separate place of the towne to assayle and there to do  
 his deuoyze and shewe his manhode.

When

## The batayle

Whan euery thyng was thus ordeed, Metellus commaunded to sound to the assaulte with trumpets and clarions. The Romaines immediately assayled the towne on euery side with horrible noyse & clamour. The Numidians therof were not a dradde at all, but stode styll and kept them selfe in silence as if they had not ben displeased nor prouoked to batayle: howe be it they kepte the walles euery man on the part to hym assigned, and all were ready to resyste and to assayle the Romaynes. Anone the batayle was begon. The Romaines exercised and occupied them selfe euery man with such wepin as he coulde beste handle, and was most expert in: some with slinges threwo plummetts of lead, and some stones from a farre into the citie, and at them which defended the walles: some assayled the towne nerer inuading the same, and couetyng to haue entrey and vnderminyng the walles: some boldly scaled the walles, desiringe to come so nere that they myght fyght hande to hand. On the other side thynhabitantess of the towne and garnyson resisted manly. Some rowled downe and ouerturned great and waighty stones on such as were norest to them and that vndermined the walles. Some pytched downe vpon them dartes, iauelins, pykes, firebrandes and also greate burnyng polles, faggots, and blockes ouercouered with pytche and brimstone ardentlye flaming. Some boldly ouerturned the scalyng ladders, and slewe and ouerthrewe suche as scaled the walles. But some other whiche were farther from the towne, & for pzease coulde not approche nere to the walles in the meane season were nother fearefull nor ydle. For there was no maner instrumente of batayle which coulde be thzowen wyth hand, or with any other engine of batail  
but



but that they threwe it into the towne, wherewith they wounded and slewe many of the inhabitātes and of the defenders of the walles. The dartes & crossebowes on both parties were not vnocupied. Artyllery noz gōnes had thei none. for at þ time was no mencion of the noz they were not yet inuented. The Romains which were farthest of al from the walles escaped not free: but with dartes were ouerthzowen in great nombze. Howe be it their cowardous and fearfull mynides caused them to draue them selfe a loofe behynd al other for to saue the selfe, yet could they not auoide the peryl. Thus wer the worthy and vnworthy Romayns in lyke ieopardy and peryl: but their glozy and fame was much vnylike.

Howe Jugurth assayed and inuaded the tentes of the Romayns in the meane tyme whyle Metellus gaue assault to the towne of Samam.

The. xxxvi. Chapter.



Whyle the assault continued thus at samam with great murdze and distruction on both parties: Jugurth sodeinlye and of vnware stale doone from the mountaines wher he was hyd, and wyth a greate power of men assayed & inuaded the Romains tentes whyle the soul- diours whom Metellus had assigned to the ward and defence of them were within the same at their reste, and suspectyng nothing lesse then any suche assaulte. Wherefore Jugurth brake in vpon the vnprouided. The Romains were soze abashed of that sodein feare. And euerman prouided for him selfe according to his maner and disposicion. Some which were cowarδες fled wyth all theyr myght: some other balyant and bolde herted men drewe to their harnes & manly withstode their enemies.

## The batayle

Nevertheless the moost parte of them all were, eyther wounded or slayne. But among all the company and of all the multitude of the were no more but .xl. men which abode. These .xl. accompanied themselves together remembering the worthyp of the empire of Rome, and tooke a place a litle above their enemies: which place they defended so manly that they coude not be driven from it by much violence of their enemies, agaynst whome they threw dartes from a far. And such dartes as their enemies threw at them: they threw they same againe. So they being but a few against so many dyd nothing in vayne. For they could throw no dart, but that it lighted among the thickest of them. But so coude not their enemies do against them. For they were so fewe: so nere together & on so sure a place that their enemies might litle thing prevail against them. But when the Numidiens approached nerer to them: than specially these .xl. valiant Romaines shewed and bestowed their manhode and strength with most excellent courage assailing their enemies: overthrowng and chasyng them backward by very force and strength.

**I**n the meane tyme whyle Metellus was mooste of all occupied and busied in the foresaide assault of Jambages suddenly he herde behynde hym a great clamour & noyse of people. At none he restrained his horse: and in turning backe perceived great companies of men renning toward him: wherby he well knewe that they were of his owne people and company. But when he understode all the chauce which was befallen. At none in all hast he sent all the hole company of his horsemen unto his tentes: and soone after he sent thither also his chiefe undercaptayne Caius Marius with his retinue and company to him assigned.

assigned. And soze wepyng he obtested exhorted, and besought hym for all loue and frindshyp, and for the honour of the cominen weale, that he wold not suffer any disworship or contumely remaine in the Romayns that daye whyche euer thytherto had ben victorions and ouercommers with greate laude and honoure: and that he wold not suffer their ennemie Jugurth and his company to departe awaye vntreuenged. Marius dyd the commaundement of Metellus, and that shortlye. But in the meane season Jugurth percepued many of the keepers of the tentes fallen into dyches that were made aboute the same for defence: so that for haste to runne awaye they hurte them selfe more then he dyd. Jugurth aduysing their daunger, considered that hym selfe was lykelye to be set vnder the same maner, if he auentured ouer farre. And therfore he departed betyme into the surest places that he coulde deuise nere by, leauyng many of his men behynde, eyther deade or mortally wounded. Thus was Marius frustrat of his labour: for Jugurth was fled befoze he came to the tentes. But Metellus (without any thyng brought to ende at zamam) whan the nyght drew neere, retourned wyth his hoste into his tentes. On the next morowe after, befoze he retourned agayne to the assault of zamam: he commaunded all the companye of his horse men to course by and downe befoze their tentes on that syde tohere they supposed Jugurth wolde come to socoure his people. The entres into the tentes and places neere to them he committed and deuided to warde of hys vnder captaynes. After that he retourned agayne to the towne, and fierse ly assayled the walles in lyke maner as he hadde done the daye befoze.



## The batayle

**I**n the meane season Jugurth agayne sodenly stale  
vpon the Romayns: and specialle on them which cour-  
sed before the tentes: they which wer next him and whō  
he encountred first of al were a lytel tyme soze troubled  
and abashed: but the remenant of the Romayns lightly  
assembled their socoure. And so valiantly behaued them  
selve that the Numidiens shulde not long haue cōtinued  
the skyrmythe: if their footemen myngled with the Ro-  
mains horsmen had not in the mydell comynytted great  
myschefe & destruction. For the horsmen of Jugurthe  
trustyng to the helpe of these fotemen which wer myn-  
gled among thē: did not first procede forwarde auancing  
themselve and than retourne backe agayne as the vse is  
in a bataile of speremen. But thei ran in making incur-  
ses among the thickest of the Romains ouerthwart &  
sydlinge: in foldyng and dowblyng theyr courses: and  
cōtendyng to trouble and disorder the array and order  
of the forwarde and wynges of the Romayne hoost. In  
somuche that whā with the Numidiens on horsebacke  
& with thē on fote it lacked but lytel: but the Romains  
were confounded & overcom in that greuous conflict.  
**B**ut here wyll I leue the horsmen of the Romains  
fichtyng for their lyues and honour agaynst Jugurth  
and his speremen. And now shall I declare howe Me-  
tellus the chiefe capitayn of the Romayns behaued him  
selve with hys hoost in the assault of sammam.

**H**owe Metellus behaued hym selfe for his part, and of the greate con-  
flict which the Romains had agaynst the Numidiens: Metellus with hys  
footemen assaylyng the towne of Sammam for the one parte. and Jugurth  
hys selfe fychtyng wth the Romayns speremen on the other parte.

The xxxvii. Chapter.

**I**n the same tyme whyle this skirmyshe continued bytween the Romains hozsemen and the Numidiens, which wer with Jugurth the assault also against the towne of samam indured with muche strength, violence, and murder. And specially wher as Metellus had assigned his vnder captaines on euery syde of the towne (as I haue sayd before) there cōtynued the assaulte most sharply. One of them put not his trust nor hope in other: but every man in his owne dedes and in himselfe. Under the same maner dyd the garnyson and inhabitantes of the towne behaue themselves: they fought manly againe and also ordayned all thinges cōuenient for their defence in euery place of the towne. Bothe the parties were redier and more belye one to strike and wounde other, than to defende themselves. The clamoure and noyse was myxt with exhortaciō and confort of some, and the ioye of the quellars & myrderers was mingled with the wayling of them which were quelled and murdred. The sounde of the armour, & horrious strokes mounted to the ayre. The sky was darked with dartes fleing on eyther syde. And the walles and dychesse were dyed with blode: and fylled with deed cozles pyteful to se. But whan the Numidiens were somewhat at laiser, & whan the Romains a lytell abated and remitted the assault: than they whiche defended the walles of the towne looked out a far and intentifeley behelde the batayle of the hozsmen whiche styl cōtinued. There might one haue sene the somtyme mery and ioyous, somtyme ful of dolour and heuynesse after as they sawe the case of the part of Jugurth went forwade or backwarde. And aswell as they could be sene and herde of their felowes which were with theyr king:

## The batayle

Jugurth: some boarned them to audacite, some exhorted them to courage, other thei gaue them signes with their hands oz with the iesture of their bodyes & couēnances mouyng & excityng them to boldnes. If they saw a Romaine strike a Numidian: they moued & withdrew their bodies auoiding the stroke as if it had ben the selfe whiche had ben striken. And if they sawe a Numidian cast a dart against a Romain: they moued their bodies also as they had cast it themself. Thus toke they so intentife hede to the bataile that they forgot themselfe wher they wer, & it semed the that thei had ben with their felowes in batayle. Whan Marius which besyged the towne on that syde: vnderstode this maner and behauour of the inhabitauntes and garyson: he abated his fiersnes for policy & was moze slow in besyging of the towne than before, faining that he had no trust nor confidence to boyn it and suffred the Numidiens within the towne to behold the bataile of their kinge, for a while without any resistance oz besynes. But whā he sawe the most intentifely beholding the batayle, and most amased for the besinesse of their felowes and couētre men: than sodenly with all his power he gaue assaut to the walles, so that many of the Romaines with ladders & other ingines, had almost mounted vnto the highest part of the. The inhabitants seinge this expelled their amasednes remembryng the selfe: & ran manly against the with resystance throwing vpon them stones, fire, and all maner dartes of bataile. The Romaines at bygynning resisted valiantly, defending themselfe and auancynge them to the walles. But whā the inhabitants had first ouerthrowen and broken one ladder, and than ouerturned an other. They which abode last were maymed oz slaine, & none the remenant departed



Departed and gaue ouer the walles vnder the beste maner that they coulde a fetwe oz none whole. For a greate parte of theim wythdrew the selfe transfixed wyth mortall woundes. And none after the nyghte fell vpon theim whyche caused bothe the parties to desyste, and leaue of the batayle.

¶ Howe Metellus remoued the spege from zamam, and how Bompychar so perswaded Jugurth that he yelde hym selfe, hys kyngedome, and all other thynges to mercye and grace of the Romayns. And how Jugurth after losse of hys men, treasure, elephantes, armour, and horse: chaunged hys mynde agayne.

## The xxxviii. Chapter.

**B**ut when Metellus sawe his purpose and labour all in bayne: and that he coulde not wyne the towne: & also that Jugurth dyd nought but by gyle and falsehod, nor wold not fight but if it were in places for his profite and great chauntage. And also when he percepued that the somner was passed, he departed from the siege of zamam, and in such townes as he had wonne of Jugurth, which were strongly defended wyth walles and water, he set garnisō and souldiours of his company to defende them. But the remenaunt of his armye he conuayed and ordred in the nexte prouince vnto Numidye, which was subiect to the Romaines: to remaine ther tyl the sharpnes of wynter were passed. For in the meane tyme suffered not them, nor hym selfe to be corrupted wyth superfluous wealth, reste, nor lecherie: after the maner of other before hym. But because the warre proceded forwarde but lytle wyth armour oz strength he beganne to proue and prepare treisou agynste a trey toure, decepte agaynste a deceyuer, and gyle agaynste gyle.

## The batayle

gyle of Jugurth: and this thought he to proue by suche as were most chiefe frindes of Jugurth, and moste familiar about hym. So that he purposed to vse the false hode and treason of them against their master: in stede of armour and batayle. Wherfore firste of all he began to proue the mynd of Bomilchar which had ben before at Rome with Jugurth: and (as I haue sayde before) fled priuely from thence for the death of Massina, leauyng his sureties behind in daunger for his cause. Metellus considered that thys Bomilchar (because of the great frindshyp and familiaritie which he had with Jugurth) sonest myght deceiue and betray hym. Wherfore (as I haue saide before) he beganne and went in hande with hym firste of all by promisyng of grete rewarde. And firste of all he dyd so muche that this Bomilchar came priuely to Metellus & spake with hym. Metellus anone promised him on faith and truth to do so for him that the Senatours shulde pardon hym of all thynges past, and of his lyfe and goodes: so that he wold betray or deliuer to him Jugurth either quicke or dead. Lightlye he perswaded the Numidian: for anone Bomilchar agreed ther to. What for his traiterous and false mynd which he had of nature: and what for that he doubted if any peace or composicion after that shulde be made betwene Jugurth and the Romaines, hym selfe shuld be deliuered by condicion to the Romaines to be punished for the deathe of Massina whom he caused to be slayne at Rome. This Bomilchar whan he sawe his time toke leaue of Metellus on this apointment, and soone after came to Jugurth whom he founde doutfull in care and bewaylyng his aduerse and miserable fortune with profounde syghes and heuynes, and doutynge what waye was

was most expedient to be taken. Bomilchar after many wordes beganne to counsell and warne him, praynge, and obtesting him piteously wepyng and wayling: and requyring that at last he wold make some prouision for the sauegarde and socours of himselfe, of his childzen & frendes: and for the people of Numidi whiche well had deserued agaynst him to be prouided for and better sene to. Bomilchar also objected to Jugurth how he and his menne were ouercome in euery bataile, and his people also diminished or alienate from him, his felde & towne wasted and distroied, or els in possession of his enemies: his men some taken and in prison. Some slaine: & many wounded and maimed: the ryches of his realme diminished and wasted. Bomilchar alleged also to him that he had proued the strength of his souldyours and fauour of fortune sufficiently ynough, wherfore it were better for him to se some remedy and prouision for all these ylles and other mo, and to be ware lest whyle he prolonged the tyme doubted: the people of the contrey shuld prouide for themselves without his aduise or counsell. With these wordes and other lyke Bomilchar induced the kynges mynde to make some composition, or els to yeld him selfe and al other thinges to mercy & grace of the Romans. Anone embassadours were send to Metellus to certify him that Jugurth was redy to do what euer he wolde desyre or commaunde him: and that he wolde comyt and yelde both himselfe and his kingdome to the fayth and grace of Metellus: and of the Romayns without any pactyon, conuenaunt, or exception: sauing onely as it pleased them to deale with him. Metellus heyring of this mynd of Jugurth was very glad: & commaunded all the most wyse, noble, and worthy men of his army



## The batayle

Anone to be called together vnto him from their wynt-  
ring places. Whan they were come thā toke he counsel  
of them and of other such as he knewe wysest and most  
discrete touchynge the embassade of Jugurth. Anone it  
was concluded & decreed among the counsell and declared  
to the embassadours (acordinge to the olde custome of  
Rome) that they shuld commaunde Jugurth to sende  
to Metellus and the Romans two hundred thousande  
pound weyght of syluer: al his elyphātes which he occu-  
pyed in war: & a certayne quantite of armour & a nōbre  
of his chiefe horses. All these things were fulfilled & done  
of Jugurth without any tary or delay. Wherfore anone  
after Metellus commaunded agayne that al they whi-  
che had betrayed his host, forsaken hym and fled to Ju-  
gurth shuld be bounden and so brought to him agayne.  
The most part of them wer brought as he commaūded  
but a fewe of thē whā they herde first of this cōposicion  
(fering the same mater) fled vnto Bocchus kyng of the  
Mozys.

Whan Jugurthe after this maner was bereft of his  
armour of his horse, of his men, & also of his treasure.  
Anone after he was called by Metellus to come to a  
towne called Tysidum there to here what farther more  
shuld be commaunded to him: and to yelde hymselfe to  
the empire of Rome acordinge to his embassade. But he  
began than to change and to tourne his mynde agayne  
dredyng for the knowleging of his cruell dedes that he  
shulde neuer escape condigne punysshement if he were  
dones in the Romans handes. Thus he cōtinued many  
dayes in douting what was best to be done. Somtyme  
he volued in mynd rather to subdue hymselfe to any dif-  
ficultie & to byde all paines than to begyne war agayne:  
con

considerynge the aduerse and vnhappy fortune whyche he hadde befoze. Sometyme agayne he called to mynd howe greuous a fall it shoulde be to descende frome a kyngedome into subieccion and bondage. But at conclusion whan in vaine and to none effecte he hadde losse suche greate ordinaunce and helpe of warre as he had lately deliuered to Metellus, as a volage bzained man he fullpe determined agayne to begynne and continue the warre wyth Metellus, rather then to yelde hym selfe to deathe oz captiuitie.

But duringe this season at Rome was a counsell among the Senatours cōcerning thassignement of rule & gouernauce of the pzoouinces belonging to the empire in which counsel it was decreed that the contrey & war of Numidy shuld be committed to Metellus by pzozogacion of hys authoritie for another yere moze.

But here wyl I leaue a while to speke of Metellus, and wyte of the ambition of Marius: and howe he behaued him selfe in supplantinge the same Metellus for his roume and dignitie.

How Marius by ambition labored to be consull & to prosecute the war of Numidy, & how he detracted and supplanted the consull Metellus.

The .xxix. Chapter.



The same season the sayd Marius was in a towne named Utica, & there made supplication & oblation to the ydols with much sacrifice to the intent that it myght be his fortune (by helpe) to haue þ place of Metellus. A custome dānable was amonge the people at those dayes, whan they slew any beast in sacrifice, to loke within the intraynes & bowels of the same beast so sacrificed; where was shewed vnto them diuers tokens whither they shoulde haue  
l. it. any

## The batayle

any hope to bringe that mater to effect : for which they sacrificed oz els not. And often times the wicked spirites to cause the perseuer in their ydolatry: & to gyue credēce to that blind errour shewed many tokēs to them in such maner sacrifice: which tokēs they often found true. But now to my purpose . The preest of the ydolles whiche sacrificed for Marius shewed great and marueylous tokēs vnto him : wherby he might greatly trust to come to his intent and purpose , byddyng him proserute that thing on whiche he had sette his mynde : and haue sure confidence in his goddes. Sayng that if he wold proue the extreme of fortune diligētly and often: than doubtlesse euery thing prosperously shuld happen to him. But Marius afore that tyme a longe season wonderoulye desyzed in his minde the dignite of the consull . And to say trueth he wanted nothing which longed to him whiche shulde haue suche a dignite saue onely antiquite of his progeny & auncient noblenes of birth. For though he were but a gentyl man of the first heed : neuertheles his cōditions were worthy and excellēt . In him was great experiēce of wisdomē, much probite, honestie, and sadnesse. He had greate palyce and conning in chynalry: in batayle his mynde was excellent and bolde . But in peace it was lowe and moderate. He overcame couetise and sensualite of his body . He desyzed nor coneyted nothing erthly saue glorie, laude, and worshyp. This Marius was borne and brought vp by all his chyldehode in the cōtrei of Champayne beionde Fraunce in a towne named Arpine . But assone as he was encreased, so that he might bere harness and bide the herones of warfare he concluded to lyue on the wages of chynalrie. And in that studey he exerceysed hymselfe : and not in eloquence of



of greke langage or in other study or science : nor yet in the superfluous aparayle nor carnall lustes of citezins vnto whiche he neuer subdued his body. And thus was he indued with good maners : and excercysed amonge honest ocupacions and so continued that his hole and vndefyled wytte shortly encreased and exalted himselfe growyng to honour & vertu . First whan this Marius desyzed of the commenty of Rome to haue an office: that is to say , to be ordained protectour of the souldyours: many of the citezins knewe not his persone : bycause he was alway from the cite in warre and batayle: but his actes made his name wel known. Wherfore after that the comentye vnderstode that he was Marius of whose nobles al Italy much comuned and talked: anone they graunted his petition , and proclaimed hym protectour of the souldyours ouer all the prouinces and tribes of Italy . In that masttership and office he behaued himselfe so well and wisely that after that he obtained an other office of more woꝛship and authozite: and after that againe an other of hyer dignite. And shortly to speke: in euery office and dignite he so behaued himselfe that euery man thought & couēted him woꝛthyer of more dignite and honour than he had. How beit for al these cōdicions as honozable as he was : he durst neuer before desyre thoffice of consull of Rome tyll this tyme whan he had suche comfort by his sacrifice . But whan he was thus warned and put in hope and confort, euer after he was hedlyng enclined to ambition & couetise of that dignite.

**A**t this season the commenty of Rome had all other offices amonge them or at their gyfte and dystribucion But the estates and noble men kept among them and in their handes the consulship yerelely one succedyng o-

## The batayle

ther by election. So that of the commenty was none so noble nor excellent of dedes, but that was reputed vnworthy of that dignite, and as who saithe byle and polluted. But whan Marius sawe and consydzed that the wordes and counsel of the enchauntour and pzeest whiche he helde his sacrifice pretended to the same poynte and conclusion as the desyre of his mynde moued him longe before. Anone he came to his captiaine Metellus besechyng hym to be dyscharged of the batayle tyll he might go to Rome to thintente to desyre the consulship of the Senatours. But how beit that in this Metellus was vertu, glozpe, worship, and al other things longing to a good man plentifully ynough. Neuerthelesse of his courage and mynde was he so what proude, despisinge and dysdaynyng other: which were not come of so hye lynage as he was. But speciallpe he was statelye and proude of minde: which is a comen byce and mulchefe amonge estates and gentylmen. Wherfoze Metellus hering this interprise of Marius, first of al was moued with the nouelty of his petition. For at that tyme were none wonte to speke for that dignite, but if they were come of a noble stocke. And so was not Marius. And thus Metellus marueyled much at his enterpryse: and who might counsel him therto: warninge him as vnder colour of ampte and frendshyppe, not to pzeume vpon so contrary and vnlkely a thyng: nor to exalt his mynd so hye aboue fortune couenient for his state and condicion. Sayng also to hym that every thing was not to be coueyted or desired of every man. And that it became him wel by reason to be contented, pleased and satisfied with that honoure which he had and that was his owne, and not to desyre thyngs vnnmete for his degre. And finally  
he

he exhorted and counselled hym to beware to desyre the thyng of the Romayns whyche lawfullye myght be denyed vnto hym, considerynge and hauyng regarde to hys lynage and auncestrie.

After Metellus had counselled Marius both these wordes and other lyke, and that he could not turne nor apseale hys mynde, he answered hym at last, that assone as he could conuenyently (not lettynge the busynesse of of the commen weale) he wold graunt his desyre and petition. But after this when Marius desired the same discharge importunely and often: he made hym answer saying that he shuld not make so gret hast to Rome for that purpose, for he shulde come tymely ynoughe to demaund that dignitie accompanied with the sonne of the same Metellus, which sonne shuld also go to Rome in tyme to come to demaunde of the Senatours the same dignitie wyth Marius. This sonne of Metellus was at that tyme in the armye of hys father, continually exercising the feates of warre, notwithstandinge that he was but twenty yeres of age. Thys answer of Metellus stirred Marius agaynst hym with greuous yre and wrath, what for the honour which he desired, and what for the lycence to departe, whyche he could not obtayne of hym by no prayer nor requeste at hys pleasure. In so muche that he enraged agaynst Metellus moued by desyre of that office, and prouoked by yre, whyche two byres ambicion and yre, counselled and impelled thys Marius to muche euill agaynst the sayde Metellus, sparyng neyther worde nor deede whiche myght endamage or hynder hym, hys honour and name. And that myght helpe or auauunce hym selfe by ambicion to come to the dygnitie whyche he desyred.



## The batayle

He gouerned the souldiours which passed forth the winter vnder his gouernace not as he ought to do, but suffered them to haue their pleasure to the intente thereby to obtaine their fauoure and good wyll in his enterpryse. Also he spake often in blaming Metellus, and proudly recommending and exalting hym selfe to the marchantes of Rome: of whom was great resorte and concours to the sayd cite of Utica where Marius sojourned. And oftentimes he boasted saying to them, that if the one halfe of the armye were graunted and committed to hym within fewe dayes he woulde so behaue hym selfe that he wolde haue Jugurthe in bondes and subieccion. Furthermore he sayde to them in auaucinge hym selfe that Metellus prolonged the bataile for the nonce, for a craft because he was a man pompos and desirous of glozy and worshyp, bitterly reioysing in authoritie and geuen to pryde and affection of dygnitie: and because he knew well that whyle the batayle continued he shulde be reputed in maner as a kyng, therfore he dyd hys deuoyze the more to prolonge the warre to the ende that in the meane tyme he myghte exalte and magnifie hym selfe. The wordes of Marius semed to the sayd marchantes certayne and trewe, and also as they thoughte (by suche informacion) moste expediente to the common weale that some newe captayne were chosen, whiche shortly wolde fynyshe that warre. For by longe continuance of the same warre: many of the sayde marchauntes hadde wasted and spente muche of their sayde substance and rychesse. And also to suche desyrefull myndes as they had, nothing could so faste be hasted or brought to end. Moreover at thys season was in compaigny of the Romaine armye a certeine Numidian named Gauda, which

whiche was sonne of Manastaball, and newbe unto Massinissa. Micipsa in his testamēt ordeined that this Gauda shuld be second heire of Numidi after the death of his two sonnes and of Jugurth. This Gauda was soze enfebled wyth diseases and sickenes, and for that cause his mynd was a lytle endulled and priuate of reason and memorie. While this Gauda (as sayd is) was in the Romains army: he required of Metellus to suffer hym to haue his seate and siege next vnto hym after the vse of kynges of Numidye. Also after that because of defence and garde of his body: he desired that a company of souldiours of the Romayns myght be graunted and assigned to hym. But Metellus extremely denyed both his petitions, saying for the firste, that suche honour longed only to them whom the Romaines toke and named for kynges. And also for the second petition he sayd that it were vnaduised and iniurious ordinance if the Romaine souldiours were geue or assigned to the garde and seruice of a Numidian, which was no kyng but a souldiour lyke many mo hyred for stipend. Whyle Gauda was displeased and angry wyth Metellus for denying of these his petitions: Marius came to hym, and prouoked hym to reuenge the displeasure and iniurye whiche the captayne hadde done to hym with hys helpe and ausauncement. This Gauda (as I haue sayd before) was feble and vnstable minde, and the mannes wytte was of lytle valour by meanes of diseases whiche long hadde holden hym. Wherefore Marius wyth hys elegante, sayre and flatterynge wordes at his owne pleasure induced hym, and exalted hys mynde sayinge that he was a kyng, and an excellent and great man: and also newwe to the worthy and noble kyng Massinissa.

t.i.

nissa.

*Jugurth*

## The batayle

nissa. Wherefore (sayd he) yf Jugurth wer eyther slayne  
oz taken prisoner it were likely to come to that poynt:  
that the kyngdome of Numidi shulde be assigned and  
commytted to him of the Senatours without any tary  
oz resystence: whiche thyng shulde shortly be brought  
to passe yf Marius himselfe were creat consull in place  
of Metellus, and than assigned to execute & finyssh the  
warre with Jugurth. Under this maner Marius coun-  
selled and induced bothe the said Gauda, the Romaine  
knyghtes, the commen souldyours, and also the mar-  
chauntes and occuppers whiche were in the towne at  
that season with many other whō he impelled with his  
wordes so: that some of them for loue whiche they had  
to Marius: And other some for great hope and desyre  
whiche they had to haue peace and concorde wrote to  
Rome to their to kynsmen and frendes of the bataile of  
Numidy and that very sharpely agaynst Metellus de-  
syring and beseching them to labour at Rome with all  
their myght yf Marius might be elect consull & assigned  
to erecte the warre of Numidi. And thus at Rome was  
the consulshyp desyred by many men with great fauour  
and very honest peticiōs for Marius. Also at that tyme  
had the said Marius this auantage. For the cōmentie  
at that season deposed many of the states: and exalted  
suche as were newe gentelmen after the lawe of one na-  
med Manlius whiche befoze had ben protectour of the  
commentie. This Manlius ordeyned & inacted a lawe  
that if any thing were vngoodly done and agaynst right  
of the states beyng in any office oz dignite: than he whi-  
che so had done shuld be deposed of his office: and in his  
place some newe gentyll oz actyue man of the cōmentie  
sette and deputed and so exalted.

This



This lawe in those daies was kepte in effecte and executed at Rome: wherfore euery thyng proceeded prosperously to the purpose and profite of Marius. For (as I haue saide before) in hym was no noblenesse of ancient lynage nor byrthe.

¶ But here wyll I leaue to speake of the ambition of Marius, and retourne to write of Jugurth: and howe he behaued hym selfe against Metellus.

¶ How Jugurth renewed the warre agaynst Metellus, and how the Numidians inhabitors of the towne of Macca by treason murdred the garnison of the Romayns whych Metellus had set in the same towne.

The. i. Chapter.

**I**n the meane tyme whan Jugurthe hadde broke the composition which he had before made with Metellus by counsel of Bomilchar, & had concluded againe to begyn the war: the anon he prepared al things necessary to warre with great diligence, and with great hast he asssembled an army. Moreouer he dayly troubled with thretnings or feare, or els with great rewardes: suche cities & towne as before had forsaken hym and yelded the selfe to Metellus. So that he spared no pollicye to make them render them selfe againe to hym. In suche holdes & towne as were in his possession: he set garnison and defence of men of war. He renewed & bought a gayne armour and wepen, & set al other thinges which he had lost before, or deliuered to Metellus in hope of peace. He attised to hym many of the Romaine subiects and bondmen by promising to the their lybertie. He also proued & attempted with rewardes the, whom Metellus had set & assigned in garniso, gard & defence of such places as he had wonne in Numidy: so that vtterly he suffered nothing to be left quiet or vnassayed but by all

## The batayle

maner meanes made prouysion for him selfe mouyng and puttynge in prouysion euery thinge. But among al other inhabitants of the cite called Maeca (in which Metellus at beginning had set his garnison: whan Jugurth first sought his peace of Metellus) were desired often of Jugurthe and with great and importune instance excited to treason. In somuche that at last they assented to him to conspire against the Romains. The inhabitants of the cite dyd not yelde themselves from Jugurth with their owne good wyll: and namely the states and rulers therof did neuer yelde them to Metellus saue fainedly. Wherefore specially they were the firste that conspired against him secretly amonge themselves. For why as it often happened the commentie, and specially of the Numidiens were vnsable of minde, vterly enclined to sedicion and disorde couetous of newe thinges: and contrary to rest and quyetnesse. But (as I haue said before) whan the chiefe of this cite had secretly concluded & apointed their mater & treason among the selfe: against the third day they ordeined that the same thyrde day next after shuld be commaunded solempne, holy, and worshipped ouer all the countrey of Affrike, and Numidie. Which day shewd and pretended by al similitude mirth, game and sport: rather than any drede to the Romains whiche were in garnison of the cite. But the Numidiens full of prodicion and treason whan they sawe their tyme called vnto their houses all the chiefe captains and maister souldiours of the Romains whiche were in towne. And also one named Turpilius: whome Metellus had ordeined to be his lieutenent, prouost and chiefe capitaine of the towne: they enuited and called as if it had ben to there and feast them, one to one house, an other to an other.

ther. But this chere was such as the Scorpiō is wont to make: whiche whyle she maketh glad semblante with her mouth mortally stingeth with the taile: so this feast was a cloke to mortal treason. For whyle the Romans were in middes of their dainties vnarmed suspectinge no parill. All the Numidiens at a token geuen, and at one houre apointed before, slawe eche one his geest whiche dined with him without fauoure: so that among the all escaped not one, except the sayd Turpilius heed capitaine or lieutenant of the towne. This done: all the Numidiens together set vpon the remenant of the common souldyours whiche wandred and straied abrode in the towne & in the stretes, disperfed abrode without any armour: as is wont on such a dai without order, ferig nor douting no daunger. Some of the comens whē the states had made them priue of this treason came also to helpe them, and some other ignozant of the mater sauving that, that they had desyre & pleasure in such murder inuaded the Romans also. For though they were ignorant of the counsell of this dede: yet the noyse or skirmyshe and nouelty of the matter pleased them ynough. The Roman souldyours were ignozant and incertaine of the vnprouided feare and cruel murder douting what was best to be done. Their enemies cōpassinge them on euery side letted them to go to the castell of the towne where their armour and wepyn was: & the gates of the towne were shut on euery syde before this skirmyshe beganne, wherby they wer prohibyted to auoyd the towne. More ouer women & children threw downe vpon them stones and other thinges that came next to hand from the windows & hiest parts of their houses: struiuing who might throw first and most. Thus this doubtful & vnprouided



## The batayle

mischife could not be eschued: noz they which wer right woꝛthy and strong souldiours wer not able to resyst the very cowardyse and feblenes of women and chyldren, whiche thꝛue downe vpon thē. Thus both good and yll woꝛthy, and vnwoꝛthy, strong, and feble: wer all slayne without difference. In this so great ieopardy: the Numidiens being mad and cruell in murdre, and the gates shutte on euery syde: of all the Romayns, or Italyens: onely Turpilius the captayne escaped without hurt of his bodye. Whyther it so happed by the fauoure of his host which called him to banket: or by some apointment of treason: or els by some other chance: it was not knowne for certayn. But this was knowen that euer after as long as he lyued he was reputed for a vile & a wretched cowarde and without credence: bycause that in so gerat losse and mischief he counted it better to escape: and after to lyue, and dye in shame and rebuke: thā manly to haue died in defence of the towne. And euer after to haue had an honozable name of a woꝛthy capitaine.

**C**how Metellus destroyed the towne of Uacca, & slew al the inhabitants in reuengeng theyꝝ treason: and how Turpilius leutenant or captayn of the towne was beheaded at commaundement of Metellus.

### The. xli. Chapter.



Whan Metellus vnderstode of this lamentable chance, and treasoꝛ doone at the towne of Uacca: his mind was meruaylously greued, abashed, and sadde withall. But to him tent that none shulde perceyue his heuines he withdꝛue hymselfe frome company a litell tyme: but after whan he had satisfied his mynde with teares, and secrete lamentacion. And whan his dolour was myxed with

wyth wrath and displeasure agaynste that cruell deede,  
 then hasted he hym selfe with greate cure and diligence  
 to go to reuenge thys iniurious and cruell treason. As  
 none he called forth a legyon of souldiours whyche  
 passed forth the wynter wyth hym, and wyth them also  
 as many horsemen of the Numidians as he might asse  
 ble whiche had forsaken Jugurthe and fledde to hym,  
 whom he thoughte moste trusty. Hys legion he arrayed  
 in lyghte harnesse and easye armoure to the intente to  
 speede the waye moze redelye. And because he entended  
 to go aboute thys matter secretely: therefore pryuely e=  
 uen wyth the sunne goynge downe, he tooke hys iour=  
 ney and proceded forwarde towarde Uacca, and labo=  
 red so that on the nexte daye after aboute the third hour  
 he came wyth hys company into a certayne playne a ly=  
 tle closed or compassed aboute wyth small downes not  
 muche hygher then the extremities of the valey. There  
 called he together his souldiours whyche were weary  
 for the greate labour of their iourney, and longe waye  
 whyche they had gone. In so muche that they refused  
 to procede any farther. But Metellus comforted them  
 saying that the towne was but one myle thence. Where=  
 fore he desired them to suffer and endure the remenante  
 of theyr labour wyth patiente myndes, but onely to re=  
 uenge the death of the cityzens and theyr felowes whi=  
 che were stronge and worthy men: and very miserably  
 murdred. Moreouer he shewed to them benynglye the  
 greate praye whyche was ready for them, if they wold  
 manly procede. Thus weere their myndes exalted, con=  
 forted, and emboldened wyth his wordes. Metellus se=  
 yng that, was glad; anone comaunded the horsemen to  
 procede in the forward: these horsemen wer Numidiās.

And

## The batayle

And the fotemen he commaunded to kepe secrete their standerdes, conysances, and badges: and to go behynd vnder the shadowe of the hozsmen as nere togyder as they might: and so proceded he towarde the towne.

**¶** Whan the citezyns saw an army approche and moue towarde them: at the beginning they thought it had ben Metellus (as it was in deede) and anone shut the gates of the towne against him. But afterwarde whan they aduysed them well: and sawe that the company whiche approached made no deuastacion nor distruction by the feldes nor countrey as they went. And also whan they perceiued that the hozsmen which wer in the forwarde were Numidiens: againe the thought that it was Jugurth with his company. Wherfore with great ioy they issued forth of that towne to mete him. Metellus anone perceiued their ignozance & gaue a token to his people to assaile them. The hozsmen and fotemen knowinge the wyll of their captayne by blaste of the trūpettes assayled and ouerthru the commentie which came out of the cite against them disperfed ouer the feldes. Some of the Romains ran to the gates of the towne & entred without resistence: and some toke & inuaded the tobozes of the walles mangre the kepars. Thus the dispeasure and yre whiche the Romains had for death of their felowes: and the hope of prayes of the towne ouercame & excluded their werines which they had in their iournay thyderwarde. Thus the inhabitantes of Macca enioied trespone but onely two daies. For onely the space of two daies cōtinued their falthode and crueltie vntreuenged. For that great and riche cite was all giuen to hauocke and murdye vtterlye distroied of the Romaues: so that no creature escaped a lyue to bost of their treason befoze committed



committed agaynste the Romaines whome they had so traiterously slayn within their cite. Turpilus lieutenant or captayne of the towne whiche (as I haue said befoze escaped onely with his lyfe: was called befoze Metellus and commaunded to answer for hymselfe by what way or meanes he escaped, whyther by treason done to the towne, or by any other policy. But bycause he coude but simply excuse nor pource hymselfe of that whiche was layed against him, he first was scourged and beatē and after that his heed stricken of from his shulders, for that it was thought that if he had not betrayed the cite he coude not haue escaped more than any other. Farthermore that great destruction of the Romaines was ascribed to his negligēce or treason. If this Turpilus had ben a Romain he shuld not haue bē put to deeth. For the lawe of Porcius prohibyted any citezen of Rome to be slayn: but if they comitted any great offence, the extreme punishment by the lawe was to comynyt them to exyle. But this Turpilus inioyed not the priuylege of this lawe: for asmuche as he was no citezyne of Rome but an Italian of the towne of Collace.

Howe Bomilchar conspyred treason agaynste Jugurth, and by what meanes thys treason was discovered, and Bomilchar wyth certayn other put to deeth for the same.

The. xlii. Chapter.



At the same tyme Bomilchar (by whose counsell and moeyon Jugurth befoze hadde begon the composition with Metellus, whiche he omitted and brake agayn for feare) was couersant with Jugurthe, whiche a lytell suspected this Bomilchar of treason. Wherefore he suspectynge him agayne ymagined newe policy agaynste

v.i.

Jugurth

for Jugurth & so

*Handwritten notes in the right margin:*  
 Rome  
 Jugurth  
 Jugurth & so

## The batayle

**Jugurthe** dayly sekynge and deuyfing some gyle to his destruction and death, so that in dyuerse deuises there about his mynde wandred and was weryed bothe day and nyght. But whan he had assayed many wayes and that nothing came to purpose: he adioined vnto hym an other cōpanyon named **Nabdalla**, a noble man exalted and enhaunced with great richesse: and muche beloued of his cominentie and people of whome he had rule.

This **Nabdalla** was so well beloued with **Jugurthe**, that oftē tymes he cōmytted to him an army and power by hymselfe to execute all other thynges whiche longed to meane besynesse while **Jugurth** himselfe was weryed oz lette with other gretter thynges: wherby the sayde **Nabdalla** had optayned greate honoure and gathered great rychesse. Thus at conclusion: by apoyntement and counsel both of **Bomilchar** and of **Nabdalla** a day was prefixed betweene them to execute their treason agaynst **Jugurth**. And in the meane tyme they proupyded euery thing to that purpose as the matter and case requyred. This apoyntment made: they bothe departed in sonder **Nabdalla** went to the army whiche **Jugurth** had comynitted to hym for to tary both the same nere to those places where the **Romayns** wyntred: so thintent that if the **Romains** wasted oz distroied the cōtrey. **Nabdalla** with his company shulde other prohibet them: oz els so discourbe them that they shulde not escape vntreunged. But whan the tyme apoynted drew neere: than was **Nabdalla** so abashed for the gretnesse of the dede that he met not with **Bomilchar** at the day & tyme assigned. This his greate feare letted all the matter. But whan **Bomilchar** was thus disapointed of his parting felow he was greatly abashed: neuerthelesse his mynde was  
much

much desirous to perforce his enterprize. But agayne he was douteful for this cowardous feare of hys companion: lest he wold omitt their first appointment and counsel, and begyn some other newe apointment. Wherefore he sent letters to him by trusty frindes, & parteners of y<sup>e</sup> same treason. In which letters he sharply blamed the pacience, delaying, and cowardise of Nabdalla, and and vnstablness of hys mynde, obtestyng and calling to wytnes the goddes by whome he hadde swozne to perforce the sayde treason. Moreouer he warned hym that he shulde not turne to their distruction and confusion, the greate rewardes whiche they both might haue of Metellus. Which thyng trulye shuld fortune if Metellus hym selfe shulde bryng Jugurth into captiuitie. Furthermoze Bomylchar in the same letters gaue monition to Nabdalla that the ende of Jugurth was nere come, and that it was not possible that he mighte longe continue all thinges considered. But than was the matter in hand whether he shuld be destroyed by the o<sup>r</sup> els by Metellus. Wherefore he exhorted hym well to consider in mynde whether he had leuer betraye hym, and therby optaine greate fauoure and rewardes, o<sup>r</sup> els to leaue of tyll Metellus ouercame hym, and then to be put to death also wyth hym.

These exhortacions with other lyke were contayned in the letters of Bomilchar directed vnto Nabdalla. But whan these letters were deliuered, as chance was Nabdalla laye on his bead to recreate and refreshe hys bodye wearied wyth labour and busynesse whych he hadde taken before. Whan Nabdalla had read these letters, & vnderstode the mynd of Bomilchar, firste many



## The batayle

Deuyſes entred his mind & much cure he had in muſyng what was moost expedient to be done in the cauſe. But whyle he was in this ſtudy: ſodenly he fell in a ſlombze and his wery membrs deſpying reſt moued him to fall in ſlepe. This Nabdalla had a ſeruant longyng to him whome he muche loued and truſted, in ſomuche that no buſynelle nor counſel he hidde nor kept ſecret from him, this counſell of betraynge of Jugurthe onely excepte. Whan this ſeruant vnderſtood that the ſayd letters were brought to his lorde he thought that he had nede of his counſell as he was wont & acustomed to haue in other maters: anone entred in to the tent where his maiſter lay. And ſeing him faſt in ſlepe he toke the letters which Nabdalla had vnbwſely layd aboue his heed vpon the pylowe: and ſeyng by the ſuperſcription that the letter came from Bomilchar he redde it to thende. But whan he vnderſtoode the treaſon: in all haſt he addreſſed with the ſame letter to Jugurth. Nabdalla not longe after awaked and miſſed the letter, wherfore anone he enquiryed who had ben there in his tent. But in ſhort ſeaſon came dyuers of his louers from Jugurth, whiche certified him of al the mater as it was done. Nabdalla firſt of al intended to purſue his accuſer: but whan he perceyued that it was but in vayne ſo to do, conſyderinge that he was all redy in the company of Jugurthe: he went vnto Jugurth himſelfe to thinteut to pacify & mitigate his diſpleaſure & wzath. And ſayd vnto hym that whan the ſayd letters wer firſt deliuerd vnto him he had fully purpoſed not to kepe them ſecret: but hymſelfe to haue diſcloſed them to Jugurth. But whyle he was ſleeping his falſe ſeruant (in hope to be aduanſed therby) had preuented him his purpoſe and done the ſame thing which  
he

he himfelfe had fully purposed to do. farther more we-  
 pyng he besought and required hym for all amys and  
 loue whiche had ben bytwene them and for all the faith-  
 full seruice whiche he had done to hym in fogetyme not  
 to haue him suspected in so cruell a dede. Jugurth an-  
 swered to these requestes of Nabdalla myldly and so-  
 berly lest any gretter variance myght rse therof: but  
 muche contrary to the disposition of his mynde. for he  
 thought otherwyle than he answered: howebeit he had  
 well refrayned and alayed his wozath befoze with the  
 deth of Bomilchar, and of many other whome he knew  
 first deuilsours and partynge felowes of that treason  
 whome he had caused to be put to death befoze the com-  
 ming of Nabdalla: lest some batayle or other insur-  
 rection shuld haue poreded of that busynesse if they had  
 lyued any leuger.

**F**rom this day forwarde Jugurth was neuer quiet  
 day nor night: so that he trusted nether place, neither  
 man, nor time: but suspected and mistrusted euery thing.  
 His enemies and his owne subiectes he dreeded and  
 suspected both in lyke and after one maner. He searched  
 and espyed euery place for drede of treason douting and  
 suspectyng euery sound or noise that he herde. He rested  
 and lay some night in one place some night in an other,  
 and that in abiect and secrete places against the honour  
 of his estate roiall. Somtyme he rose from his bed in  
 his slepe in myddes of the night & armed himfelfe ring  
 entraging, and violently smiting agaynst the walles of  
 the chambze: as if he had ben in bataile. So that for the  
 great drede of treason whiche he had, he toke no rest  
 nother slepyng nor wakyng: but was violently vered  
 and fered like a mad man without reason or discretion.

## The batayle

¶ How Metellus renewed the warre agaynst Jugurth, and how Marius was great consull and assigned to execute the warre of Numidy at the pleasure of the commons against the will of all the noble men of Rome.

The. ciii. Chapter.



¶ When Metellus by suche as fledde bittwene the two parties vnderstode of the chance of Bomilchar and of his treason disclosed, he began than agayne to contende with Jugurth: with open warre and therto hastened all thyng necessary and expedient. And consideryng that Marius was continually cryeng on hym for the sayde licence and congy to depart to Rome and also greuous, hatefull, and contrary to hym: aduysyng hym not much necessary but lytell mete in so sharpe a besynes. And seying hym yll wylllyng to euery thing he graunted hym lycēce at last: to depart toward Rome as he before had often requyzed and demaunded by petition.

¶ But as I haue sayd longe before, the letters whiche were sende to Rome to the commons by fauourers of Marius were well accepted. For tohan the commentie had ouersene them, and by them vnderstode the praisynge of Marius, and the dispraysynge of Metellus. They were al inclined bttterly to the auaucement of Marius and detraction of the other. The noblenes of Metellus the capitayne whiche was before to his great woorthyp and honour tourned now to enuye and hatered against hym. But the lowenes and vnnoblenes of Marius encreased to hym fanour specially of the cōmentie whiche were come of vnnoble bloude, as he was. But the diligente fauour of boths the parties (that is to say of the states which helde with Metellus: and of the commons that helde with Marius) dyd measure and gyde euery thing



thing rather than the good or yll dispositions of the two  
aduersaries Metellus or Marius. For the commons to  
dye for it concluded to exalte Marius. And the states in  
the same maner labored to kepe hym vnder because he  
was vnnoble borne, and to exalte none saue the which  
were come of noble progeny. Farthermore the masters  
& head officers of the coments which loued debate at e-  
uery assēble & congregaciō of the commons, sore blamed  
Metellus & dispised his deedes, desiring of the commons  
that Metellus might lose his head: saying that he was  
so worthy for that he prolonged the war in Numidy a-  
gainst Jugurth more than hede was. But in despising  
& accusyng Metellus, they forgot not to comend Ma-  
rius & exalte hym with wordes somewhat to much, and  
more thē he was worthy in many pointes. In so moche  
that the people wer so gretly inclined to him with their  
fauour, that al the craftes men & laborers of the cite, &  
also of the contrey which had no liuynge saue in the la-  
bour of their handes, left their woꝝke & busines & folo-  
wed Marius, frequēting and resoyting to his companie.  
And set more by his auancement & honoz, then by their  
owne pꝛofit or anantage, trusting that after if he obtey-  
ned the said honoz, they shuld haue their liuing by him.  
And thus shortly to speke, the estates & noble men be-  
yng sore astoined, the cōsulshyp was cōmitted to Ma-  
rius a newe gentleman whose predecessours before hym  
to suche dignitie could neuer attayne, and were counted  
vntworthy. Thus that thyng which many yeres before  
that tyme could neuer be done nor brought about, was  
now brought to effecte: that is to saye the consulsyppe  
which was y most excellēt dignitie of Rome was now  
in hādes of y cōmente, & cōmitted to a mā of base birth  
**Shortly**

## The batayle

Shortly after this, the protectour of the commony named Lucius Mautius enquired & demaunded of the people tohom it wold please them to send into Numidy to synge the warre with Jugurth. The most parte of the commontie answered that Marius shuld haue that office and bulines: how be it a lytle before that tyme the Senaturess had assigned by their ordinaunce the prouince of Numidie to Metellus for his worthy deedes: wherfore now this ordinaunce was frustrat & void. For the comety wold haue their statuts executed & fulfilled.

Of the seconde batayle foughten betwene Metellus and Jugurth, and how Jugurth lost the batayl & also one of his chief townes named Thala.  
The. xliii. Chapter.

**I**n the meane tyme whyle the enterpryse of Marius proceeded thus forwarde at Rome Jugurth was sore troubled in his mind for many consideracions. First he considered the losse of many who he reputed for his friendes tyl before he knewe their treason of who he had many put to death, and many other had fled from hym for feare, some to the Romans, and other some to Bocchus king of the Mauriens. He called also to his mynd that without ministers and men of warre, he was not able to execute the warre: and mozeouer he thought it ieopardous after so greate falsehood and treason of his olde frendes to proue or assay the fidelitie of newe. For these causes and mo lyke (as I haue sayd before) his mynd was driven to and fro, variable & incerteine in diuers opinions, I so much that there was no maner thyng, no counsell nor no maner man that could sufficiently satisfie nor please his mynd. He chaunged his iourneys and waies every day into sundry places for feare of treason.  
Sometime

Somtyme he addressed hym towarde his enemies: and anon after returned into wodes & wildernesles. Often tymes he had trust and confidence in flyght: and anon after put his trust in armour and bataile. He doubted whither he might lesse trust to strength or trueth of his me which wer with him: so that what euer he purposed to do: or whither so euer he intended, euery thyng was contrary to hym. But while Jugurth thus prolonged & tarped: suddenly Metellus with his army appered in his syght. Jugurth that perceiuing: set in order and array his Numidiens aswel as he might after the short tyme which he had therto. And immediatly the armies approached: and the batayle began. In that part of the batayle where Jugurth himselte was: they stroue and resysted a lytell space but all the other Numidyens at the firste brut, concourse or assault wer put to flyght with violence and driuen backwarde. The Romayns take some of their standeres and armour, whiche they sleynge away left behynde them: but of their ennemies they took but fewe. For the Numidiens in that bataile and almoost in all other defended themselte better with their fete: than with their handes or armoure. Jugurth at this tyme: mistrusted his case muche moze than at any other tyme euer before, for the cowardous withdraynynge of his people. Wherefore he accompanied himselte with the Romayns which had forsaken and betrayed Metellus and fled to him. With them, and with a part of his horsemen he fled in to the wildernesles therby: and fro thens vnto a towne named Thala, which was a great towne and a riche: and much of his treasure and of the apparell longinge to the youthe of his yong chyldren was in the same towne. But whan Metellus vnderstode that Ju-

x.i.

gurth



## The batayle

guth was fled to so ryche a towne, howbeit he knewe that bytweene the towne and the next flod therto was .l. mile space of dry ground voyde and without habitation neuerthelesse he toke in hande to ouercome all sharpnes and difficultie of places : and also to ouercome nature, though it semed impossible to mannes mynde . This thyng Metellus toke in hande in hope to fynishe the batayle muche soner yf he myght wyne that towne.

**C**herfore he commaunded that al the bestes which serued for cariage, shuld be vnladen of al such baggage and burthen as they caried longynge to the souldyours saue onely whete and vitayle for the space of .x. dayes. Also he commaunded some of the bestes to be laded with bottels full of water, and other vessels mete to be caried with water. Moreouer: ouer all the contrey he gathered togyder as many tame bestes as he coude get and them laded with empty vessels of every sort. Many of them were treene vessel which he had done to be gathered among the villages of the Numidiens. Farthermoze he commaunded th inhabitantes of those marches whiche after the flight of Jugurth had yelded them to him that they shulde make them redy to folowe the hoost every man with as muche water as they myght beare . And assigned them a daye and place, where they shulde be redy vnder payne of deathe . Whan Metellus was come to the sayd flod which was fifty mile from the towne of Thala, & nerest water therto (as I haue said before) he dyd all the bestes to be laded of the same water. And so went towarde Thala, his hoost set in order and aray: so that if any ieopardy apered he was euer redy at defence but afterwarde whan he was come to that place where he had apoynted the Numidiens to mete him with the water

water wherewith they were laded and folowed the host. And whan his tentes were pitched, set, and defended about with trêches, cut tres, bowes and stakes after the polycie of warre, sodenlye from the heauen descended greate violence and plentie of rayne water that it was moze than sufficient to all the armye, as well to men as beastes. Moreover their vitayles were moze plente full then they trusted or looked after. For the Numidians which newly were yelded, were so much the moze seruissable & redy to minister euery thyng necessary to the army. And no maruell: for euery thyng is quicke at the beginning, which often fadeth at the ende. But the souldiours and men of warre, were moze glad to occupye the rayne water for deuotion, than suche water which was brought to them in vessels by cariage. For they supposed that their goddes loued and fauored them, whiche in so dzye a countrey, and in suche a chaunce sente to them so greate plentie of water besyde prouision of their captainne. This thyng greatly comforted the myndes of them all: and encouraged them with boldenesse, strengthe, and dyligence to overcome all difficulties whiche remayned. Thys comforte kyndelyng the myndes: they sped them selfe so forward, that on the nexte days after they came to the towne of Chala, contrary vnto the opinion or knoweledge of Jugurthe. The inhabitants whiche thought them selfe surely defended by the sharpenesse and difficultie of the place, were sodenly abashed and astonted for that great vnmonte and vnprouided case. Neuertheles they made prouision to battail as quickly as they might by sufferance of the time. The Romans addrested them in the same maner. But kyng Jugurth anone cast in his mynde y to Metellus

## The batayle

was nothing vnprovided nor vnable to be done : as he that by his craft, diligence, & polycie: had ouercome both wepen, armour, place, and tyme. And also nature it selfe which ruleth other thinges longing vnto men. Jugurth this aduysing and reuoluyng in his mynde fled priuely by nyght forth of the towne with his chylzen and a great part of his treasour. For after this tyme he neuer taried in one place paste the space of a daye or of a night sayning that he fled so fro one place to an other bycause of his present besynesse: but the ryght cause of his removing was for that he feared treason whiche he thought best to auoyd and eschue by continuall chaungyng of places. For suche counsels of treason can not be taken without deliberacion & proces of tyme, and conueniens or oportunitie of places where princes dothe longe sojourn and continue.

**B**ut whan Metellus sawe that thynhabitantes were redy to batayle, and also that the towne was strongly defended bothe by craft of mannes handes and by nature of the place. Anone he compased aboute the towne on euery syde with profounde dycheffe, trenches, and herdels: of sharpe stakes the poyntes bpwarde to the intent that none of thynhabitantes shulde breke out nor escape by night, as Jugurth had done before: nor that no vitels shulde be conuayed into them, wherby they might the longer resyst hym and indure the sege. Afterwarde he commaunded scaffoldes to be made about the walles specially in such places as were most conuenient and pentes of sheldes conioyned in maner of byncs to be driven to the walles vpo wheles. And about the sayd scaffoldes to be cast a hepe of grauell and stones: and toures of tymbre and bulwarkes set vpon them and o-  
ther



ther souldiours he assigned to defend the woꝝke, and the also that laboured there vpon. These scaffoldes, pentyses and pauasies were made to thentent that vnder the the Romayns myghte vndermine the walles withoute great peryll or dammage. On the other syde, the garnison and inhabitantes hastily labored to resiste the Romains, and to defende them selfe and their towne manfully. So that on both parties was nothing forgotten, able to be done touchinge their defence. But bꝛiefely to speke, the Romains weried with much labour and batayle. xl. daies after they were come thither, at last won the towne. But all the pray & ryches of the towne was destroyed by them which were within the towne in garnison of the Romayns which had fled from Metellus to Jugurth: whiche specialle had assigned them to defende the towne. These traytours whan they sawe the walles vndermined and bꝛused with diuerse ingens of batayle: & their fortune was brought to extremitie: and no socours nor hope remayned. Than they assembled and caried together all the treasour and ryches of the towne, as golde, syluer, with other precious ornaments or iewels into the palays of Jugurth, and there fylled themselfe with wine and other delycate meates. And at conclusion whan they were full saturate and ingorged: they set fyꝛe on the palaice and wylfully bꝛente and destroyed the ryches, the palayce, and them selfe boythall. So that suche punythemente as they dꝛeeded to suffer of theyꝛ ennemyes, they voluntarily suffered the same boyth their owne handes to auoyde the subieccion and daunger of their ennemies, by desperate folye and presumptuous madnesse.

## The batayle

Howe Metellus fortified the cite of Leptis, and at request of the ambassadours of the same cite sende thither garnison to defende the cite agaynst Jugurth, and of the sytuacion of the same cite and behaueour of the inhabitants thereof.

The. xlv. Chapter.



**A**t the same time when Thala was wonne of the Romayns, embassadours came from a towne of Numidie named Leptis to Metellus, requirynge hym to sende thider succours of garnison and a capitaine to defend them from the oppression and iniury of a certaine noble and debatefull man, which was within that cite named Amilchar which (as they said) continually laboured for new chaunges exciting & mouing the comen people to forsake the Romains agayne. In so much that agaiust the sayd Amylchar no man was able to resyst nor to prouaile: for he set nought by commaundement of their officers and rulers, nor yet by the aunciente lawes of their cite. At conclusion these embassadours sayd to Metellus for a surete that except he graunted their petition that bothe their owne helthe, and also the frendes and louers of thempire whiche were within that cite shoulde be in great danger and paryll.

These Leptitans at begynnyng of this warre of Jugurthe requyred frendshyppe with the Romayns, of Calphurnius of tohom is made mencion in begynnyng of this histozie. And after that they sende to Rome vnto al the Senatours requirynge the same ampte and peace to be confirmed of them: whiche thinge was graunted to them gladly. Therfore from theinsforth they euer contynued good & faythfull to the Romains: and woorthely and substancially dyd euery thinge whiche was commaunded vnto them by Calphurnius, by Albinus

oz by Metellus. For this consideration they lightly obtained all their desire of Metellus, whiche at their request sent forth with them vnto the sayd towne of Leptis four cohortes of Lumbards chosen out of all his army with whom he sent to be captayn ouer them a noble knyghte of his army named Caius Annius, whom he also assigned to be liefetenaunt of the towne.

[This towne of Leptis was builded first of al by the Sidonians whiche (as we rede) fledde from their owne contrey for disoord and variance which fel among their cities at home. Whiche Sidonians came in shippes in to the coastes of Affrike, where at last they builded this citie of Leptis, whiche is situate betwene two quicksandes, of whom the citie hath his name.

[For about the extreme partes of Affrike be .ii. brekes of the sea nere together, not like of quantitie, but lyke of nature. Of which two brekes those partes which be nearest vnto the lande are very profounde and deepe wyth hye bankes of sand on euery syde. But the other places not nere vnto the lande be somtyme depe and somtyme shalowe after the disposicion of the weather. For whan the sea begynneth in ragynge to be great and tempestuous by mouinge of the wynde, than the waues of the sea draweth forth of the same places the slyme, grauel, and great stones, which in calme wether were gathered together befoze in the same places. And thus the fashion, aspecte, and regarde of the same places is mutable and chaunged at euery tempest and great wynde.

[The langage of the citie of Leptis is now chaunged from the langage of Sidony into Numidian langage by mariages of the Numidians. But their lawes, their apparell and maners (for the most part) styll foloweth the



## The batayle

the custome of sydoni, which they maintayned and kept  
styll: somuche the moze easely: by cause they dwelled se-  
perat in the extreme and bitter partes of the contrey far  
from the court and frequentacion of kinges of Numidy  
for bytwene this cyte of Leptis and the wel inhabited  
partes of Numidy be many places deserted and wyde  
wyldernesess vnhabytred for dyspenes of the contrey.

**T**he description of that place of Astryke whyche is named the Phelen  
auters, and for what cause the same place was fyrste so named.

The. xvi. Chapter.

**B**ut for asmuche as by occasyon of this be-  
synes of the cite of Leptis and their embas-  
sadoures, I haue made mencyon of their  
cite and partlye describde the sytuacion of  
the same. Nowe me thynke it a thyng con-  
uenient, and not vnwoorthy to recount an excellent and  
merueylous dede done in the same coostes by two bre-  
thern bozne at the cite of Carthage and namely bycause  
the place is called the Phelen auters me thynketh it  
requisyte to declare the cause of that denomination. for  
this place of our hystorie so requireth.

**W**hat tyme the Carthaginēses had in possession and  
wer lordes ouer the moost part of Astryke: at the same  
season the Cirenenses also were great and famous of  
name: and abundant of welth & riches. Than betwene  
the coostes of these two cities was a great and large feld  
all ouer spred with sande without diuision, perticion, or  
difference. But bytwene them was neyther flod nor  
mountayne, whiche myght discerne the boundes and  
marches of bothe their coostes: whiche thyng caused  
cōtinuall and longe warre often and great batayls by-  
twene bothe parties. But after that manye armies on  
bothe

both sydes were ouercome, slayne, or put to flight bothe by land & by sea: and whan bothe people had somewhat wasted the one the other by spoylyng and murder: than began they to perceiue their owne folly on both partes, fearing lest some other nacion anone after shuld assaile them, both the ouercommers, and them that were ouercome, when they were wasted and wried wyth bataills and brought to extremitie. Wherfore this considred, they toke truce bytwene them both, and to auoide that longe variaunce betwene them: they made agremente and couenant that messengers or embassadours of bothe parties shulde depart out of their cities at one certaine day and houre assigned. And that same place wher the messengers of both the cities shuld meete together, shuld be for euer after taken for the bowndes & marches of the contrey, of both the nations and cities without moze contention or variance. To bryng this apointment to effect and conclusion, forth of the citie of Cyzen were chosen. ii. for their parte and send forth at the daye and houre appointed. And in lyke wyse out of Charthage were sende two bzyethern named Phelen, which swyftely sped them in their iourney. But the Cirenenses wente much moze slowly, whether it so fortun'd by negligence or chaunce I know but lytle the truth. But this is knowne for certayne, that aboute those costes tempeste of wynd & weather is wonte to let men and prolonge their iourney in lyke wyse as vpon the sea, and that for this cause. For whan by those euen places wyde and bare without any thyng growyng on them: the wynd ryleth and styreth the small sand from the ground, the same sande moued by greate violence of the wynde is wonte to fyll the faces, mouthes and eyes of such as passe that waye with

## The batayle

dust and sande. And thus often by lettynge of their sight their iournay is prolonged & hyndred. But after whan the Cyrenenses sawe themselfe some what ouer slowe and late in their iourney : they fered punishemēt at their retournynge home for their negligēce. And blamyng they accused the Carthaginenses objectyng and saying that they had come forth of their cite before the tyme assigned: and thus they troubled al the mater and brake the ordynance . But shortly to speke these Cirenenses concluded rather to suffre death and to do any thyng possible than to retourne home again overcome. Wherfore the Carthaginenses desired some other condicion or apointment to be made indifferēt and equal bytwene both the parties. The Cirenenses consented therto and put the Carthaginenses in choise whpyther they wolde be quicke buryed in that same place whiche they desired for their marches & bōudes : or els that the Cirenenses vnder the same condicion shuld procede forward to that place whiche they desyred for their marches and there to be quicke buryed vnder the same maner. The .ii. brethren both named Phelene allowed and graunted the condicion subdayng and abandonynge their bodyes to death for the profet and wele of their contrey and cite of Carthage: and so were they buryed quicke . Wherfore the Carthaginenses in the same place where they were buryed rayled and halowed .ii. auters in worshyp and remembrance of these two brethren whiche set moze by encrease of their contrey: than by their owne liues. These auters to this present day be called the Phylene auters after the name of the .ii. brethren named Phylenis ther vnder buryed, as sayd is for wele of their contrey. Also besyde this memorial within the cite of Carthage were  
many



many other thyngs ordained to the great honour of the  
and remembrance of theyr worthy dede. ¶ But now I  
wylle leaue this matter and returne to my purpose.

¶ How Jugurth assembled a new army of the rude Getulians agaynst the  
Romayns, and how he associated to hym Bocchus kynge of the Mauriens  
to strength hym in bataile agaynst Metellus.

The. xliii. Chapter.

**W**han Jugurth had losse the citie of Thala, one  
of the strongest cities of his land (as sayd is be  
foze) then he considered wel that in al his kynge  
dome was no place stronge ynough to resyst the myght  
of Metellus. Wherfoze he hasted hym with a small cō-  
pany thzough deserts & great wyldernesles flying from  
his owne contrey. And at last he came to the land of Ge  
tulia which is a maner of people, rude, wyld, and wyth  
out order oꝝ maners: & at that season naught knowing  
of the pzeeminent honoꝝ & fame of the Romain empire.  
Of thys people Jugurth assembled a multitude toge-  
ther, and by lytle & lytle enduced & taughte them by co-  
stume & exercise to folowe the order of chivalry, to kepe  
araye, to insue their standerds, to obaye the cōmaunde-  
ments of their captaynes, to decerne & haue knowledge  
of the signifyng of y sonndes of trūpettes, & to obserue  
al other pointes belōging to warfare & chivalry. These  
thinges with other lyke necessary to bataile, Jugurthe  
ceaused not to pzeare and ordaine with all diligence.

¶ Moreouer he prouoked to hys fauour & feloweshyp  
by great rewardes, and much greater promyses such as  
wer most nere frindes to Bocchus kynge of the Mauri-  
ens, by whose help he hym selfe went to kynge Bocchus  
& desired hym in his quarel with hym to warre ageinst  
the Romains. To which request of Jugurth Bocchus

p. ii.

agreed

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agreed so much the more for as much as at the first beginning of the same warre, this Bocchus sente vnto Rome embassadours to desire of the Romans amitie, and a bond of continuall peace betwene him and them. But notwithstanding that this petition and peace was much expedient and necessary to the Romans for diuerse considerations, and namely because of this war. Not the lesse it was not graunted by meane of a few such as at Rome blynded with auarice, wer wont to sel for money euery thinge both honest & dishonest. Also before this time the daughter of Jugurth was spoused to the sayd Bocchus. But this bond of friendship or amitie amonge the Numidiens & Mauriens, is reputed but of lytel or none effecte, because they are wont euery man to haue diuers & many wiues according to their substance & riches. Some .x. and some mo, after as they are of abilitie or power to meinteine. But y<sup>e</sup> kinges, because they are of most power & substance, therfore they haue mo than other. Thus is their mynd & fauour distracts and diuersly deuided from all their wiues for the multitude of the, and because they haue so many that they reserue none for their speciall bedfelow. Wherfore they all are reputed byle & litle set by after one maner. Thus the amittie betwene these .ij. kinges, Jugurth & Bocchus, was lytle set by and smal auayled in this busines. Notwithstanding both they and their hostes came together in one place apointed therto: wher after they had geuen and take faith & truth one to other of fidelitie to be obserued betwene the. Jugurth inhaunced & lifted by the minde of Bocchus with his words: saying that the Romans were vniust, grounded in auarice without suffisance or measure: & comon enemies to euery man & to euery

euery contrey: & that they had as much quarel against Bocchus as against hym, and one selfe cause to war against the both, and also against manye other nations: which cause was but only the plesure of great lordshyp and riches. So that for the same cause al kyngdoms to the were aduerse & contrary, & that he hym selfe to the was enemy for y same cause. And not long befoze that tyme the Carthaginenses, & afterward Perles kyng of Macedony were subdued and vndone by the Romans without any iust tytle or cause of bataile, save only ambition and enuy which the Romaines had against the. And that in tyme to come euerye nacion whiche shulde haue welth and riches shuld become enemies to the Romans for their inordinate pride & insatiabable couetise.

¶ Wyth these wordes and other lyke, Jugurth moued the mynde of Bocchus agaynste the Romaines. In so muche that anone a daye was appointed betwene both the kynges to procede forth together to the towne of Cyrtha, and to assaile the same wyth bothe their powers conioyned. Thys towne they purposed firste of all to besiege, because Metellus had lefte within the same towne prayes and prisoners whiche he hadde taken of Jugurth. And also muche of his owne ordinaunce had he lefte there to auoyde impedimente in his voyage.

Thus Jugurth thoughte mooste expediente to do: for if he myght wyne the towne by assaulte befoze the rescous of Metellus, he thoughte that shulde be mooste to hys honour and profite. Or elles if the Romaine capytayne Metellus, and hys armie shulde come to succour the towne, than thoughte he that there bothe hym selfe and Bocchus shoulde geue batayle to Metellus. Jugurthe for crafte and subtyltie hastened thereto so muche



## The batayle

the moare to tangle Bocchus in the warre before anye place shulde be moued bytweene him and the Romayns. And lest the same Bocchus by p[ro]l[og]ing of the time might rather encline to peace than to warre after he at leasour shulde haue taken better counsell and aduise-ment. For Jugurth suspected at beginninge that Metellus in proces of time wolde desyre this Bocchus not to medyll in this war assistyng the part of Jugurth nor mentayning his cause

How Metellus bled hym selfe heyrng that these two kynges were confederate agaynst hym, and howe after he was certified that the prouince of Numidy was assigned to Marius the new consull: he ceased the warre for the nonce.

The. xlviii. Chapter.



When Metellus knewe that the two kynges were associate together: he thought not to fyght with them rashely without prouision nor in euery place for his aduantage or not as he was wont to do often tymes before after the first time that he had ouercome Jugurth. But within his feldes well and surely defended he kept hym selfe abydinge the commynge of the two kynges: and that not farre from the towne of Cirtha. This dyd he thinking it best to knowe the myght, maners, and condicions of the Mauriens firste or he wolde fyght with them, bycause the were but newe enemies and therfore their maners vnknownen to him. And whan he saw his best auantage than thought he to gyue them bataile.

In the meane time while Metellus tarped the comynge of the two kynges: letters wer brought vnto him from Rome: whiche certefied hym that the prouince of Numidi, was comitted and giuen to Marius the new consull. For he had herde long before this time that the  
sayd

sayd Marius was elect consull : but this was the firste time that he vnderstode the prouince of Numidy committed to him. For this cause was Metellus moued and displeased muche more than longed to measure or honesty. In somuche that he coude nether refraine his eyes from wepyng nor measure his tong from speking yll by Marius. This Metellus was a synguler noble & woerthy man in all other condicions: but the displeasure of his minde he toke ouer womanly and tenderly to his hert, and namely in this cause. Whiche condicion : some reputed to procede of a proude hert of Metellus. And other some thought it no meruayle though his noble hert wer moued and kindled with anger, for this iniury and wrong done to hym. And many sayd that Metellus toke so great sorow and displeasure: bycause the victorie whiche he had almoost optayned shulde be pulled out of his handes his selfe hauing the labour & parill, and an other man the tryumphe and honour. But to be playne in the mater & indifferently to write: it was not vnknewen to the wisest Romaines, but that the dignite, auancement, and honour of Marius greued Metellus much more thā dyd his owne iniury. And that he wold not haue taken it so heuely if the prouince of Numidy which was taken from him had ben giuen to any other noble man than to Marius. Wherfore Metellus was let from his first besines for the sayd displeasure so that he purposed not to bere himselfe from thensforth without thanke or profet. And also he thought it folly to take in hande the charge of another mannes mater to his owne paryll, labour, & paine. Wherfore he sende messangers to the king Bocchus, desiring him not to become eunemy to the Romaines without occasion.

And

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And saieing that he was yet in suche case that he myght adioine with the Romayns felowshyp loue, and amitie: whiche shulde be muche better to hym and more profitable. And how beit he trusted gretly in his power, richesse, and treasour: yet ought he not to change certayne thynges, for thynges incertayne. For euery batayle to begyn is easy and lyght: but it is a very hard thyng to ende the same whan it is ones begon. The begynning and endynge therof: is not alway in the power of one same man. For warre may be begon of a cowarde or of any other wretch: but it can not be left of againe, nor ceased but whan it pleaseh him which is strongest and is maister hauynge the vpper hand. And finally he bad him better to prouide for himselfe and for his kingdom than he began to do: and not to adioyne nor myngle his goodes, treasour, and fortune: which were in estate roy all flourishyng with the goodes and fortune of Jugurth whiche were lost and destroyed to the vttermost. The embassadours of Metellus came to king Bocchus and shewed him their capitains wyl: as is said before vnder suche sentence. To the whiche wordes of Metellus Bocchus answered againe benignely & mekely ynough sayng that he desyred nothyng more than peace: saue, that he had pyte and compassion of the aduers and miserable fortune of Jugurth, but if the same Jugurth might be suffred also to haue frendship and ampte with the Romains and forgiuenesse: than said Bocchus that he wolde gladly agre to euery thyng desyred of Metellus, and euery thyng shulde be accorded bytwene them. The capitayne Metellus heyring this answer of Bocchus agayne sent messengers to him replenyng against his requestes and sayenge that some of his petitions were



were agaynst iustice and reason: also Metellus by these embassadours desired many other thinges of Bocchus of whom Bocchus graunted & allowed some, and other some of them he denyed. After this maner the tyme ouerpasse and proceeded forth, messengers often going and comynge bytwene them bothe: so that by such maner the warre and batayle remainned vntouched and depended not medled with: as Metellus dyd greatly coneyt and desyre in mynde bycause he wolde kepe sure that laude whiche he had wonne: and also for that to his owne payll and dammage he wold not auantage nor auance Marius: in a thinge which to him beloged.

¶ But here wyll I leaue to speke of Metellus, and retourne to speke of Marius whiche contrary to the wyll of the noble men of Rome was creat consul by fauour of the comens: lyke wyse as I haue wryten before.

¶ Of the great ordinance and preparacion whych Marius the newe consull made agaynst Jugurth, and for the warre of Numidy.

## The. clix. Chapter.

**B**UT Marius (as I haue sayd before) was elect consull, at great desyre and instaunce of the comen people: which also committed to hym the prouince of Numidy. Marius seing himselfe thus auanced: wher he was euer agaynst the noble men of Rome before, now was he specially fierg of mynde, and stately. And besy to displease and hurt the states: some tyme one by one, and other wyle altogether. He often tymes boasted and sayd that he had gotten the consullshyp of them maugre their wyll, as if it were a pray or spoylinge gotten of his enemies: and of men ouercome. Many other boastynges

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wordes spake he to his owne commendacion, & to great displeasure and anger vnto the estates of Rome. But in the meane tyme he forgot not to prepare euery thyng necessary to the warre: wherof the charge rested on him to execute the same against Jugurth from thensforth. He demaunded of the senatours & comens new supplement of souldyours to repare and restore the army whiche was in Numidy with Metellus. For many of the wer slaine and many deed of sicknesse: thus was the army soze deminished. He called also for socours of suche nations as marched to thempire. And of kynges whiche were cofederate and had conioyned feloweshyp with the Romayns. Moreouer he rayled vp in Italy & nere about Rome, as many as were strongest and bolde mennes bodies. And namely suche as he himselfe had proued befoze in warre: and such as in warfare were proued by dedes: and not suche as were boosted by fame. And namely olde souldours which had longe haunted the war and wer pardoned ther of. So that it was in the power of no man to constrain them to war without their owne fre assent: bycause that they had continued styll in warre the season to them assigned of their captains. These treated Marius with so fayre flatteryng and paynted wordes, that thy were redy to go with him in warfare. And howebeit that the senatours wer contrary to hym: yet durst they nothing deny vnto hym belonging to his besynesse: but gladly and with good wyll they decreed that he shulde rayse and chuse souldours to fulfyll the nombze of them which wer lost in bataile in the contrey of Numidy. But this dyd they for no gret, loue which they had to Marius: for they thought that he shuld lese eyther the execution of the batayle whiche he intended  
with

with Jugurth, or elles the fauour of the people whiche wolde refuse to go forth to warre. So that if Marius constrained them, their old loue myght turne into new malyce and hatered against hym. But this thyng was trusted but in bayne of the Senatoures, for the mooste parte of the commons had an inestimable desire to go to batayle wpyth Marius. For euerye man caste in hys mynd to be intyched by prayes and spoylynges of war. And that moze is, to retourne home agayne victoures wpyth muche honour and triumphe. These thinges and other lyke they considered, whiche caused them gladlye to folowe Marius: and also Marius dyd not a lytle enbolden and conforzte theyr myndes with his exhortacion. For tohan euery thyng which he desired of the Senatours was confirmed and decreed by the. And when Marius shulde assemble his souldiours, he thought to put them in conforzte by exhortacion, and also to trouble and displease the states of Rome as he was wonte to do, and to chafe their myndes. Wherefore he assembled and called together a greate company of the common people, and spake to them by exhortacion and conforztyng of them as hereafter ensueth.

**T**he oracion or exhortacion of the consull Marius had to the common people of Rome befoze hys voyage into Numybye, whiche exhortacion is demonstratyue containyng the laude and praisc of Marius, and dispraise and blame of the noble men of Rome.

The. i. Chapter.

**R**yght worthye citizens, I knowe well that many of these estates of ancient name haue not the selfe behaued after one maner of condicion in desirynge of yon honozable dignities and greate offices, and in administration and gouernynge of them after they haue optayned



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the same of you. For whyle they make their petitions at beginning they be diligent, seruiable, meke, and curteise of behauour. But whan they haue optayned their desire than passe they their tyme in slouth, ydelnes, and pride. But it semeth to me in my mynde that they ought to do muche contrarely. For of howe muche more valour the hole commen weale is: than is the consulschyp, thoffice of the hys iudge, or any other great office: with somuch more diligence and charge shuld the hole commen wele be gouerned, than suche dignities or offices desyred of you. For I am not ignozant but knowe right wel how great the benefite is that ye haue geuen to me: and how greate charge and besynesse therto belongyng is layed vpon me withal: which besynes I nedes must sustaine. That is to say: to prepare & make redy an army, with all other thynges necessary to bataile and to execute the same: and neuertheles to spare the commen treasour. To compell to warfare and batayle: suche as a man wold not greue nor displease: that is you the commentie of Rome: whom I wolde not displease by any meanes. To take charge & care for euery thinge within the cite and without. And to do suche thinges among enuious gentylmen obiectyng and layeng agaynst me in euery thing which go about, as men ful of discord & variance. Verily noble citezius among suche charges it is more harde and a thinge of more dyfficultie, than any man can thinke or deuise. And mozeouer: as for other consuls whiche haue ben before my tyme, whan they haue done any thyng amysse: than their olde noblenesse, the strong and balyant actes of their predecessours, the riches and power of their frendes and kynsmen: and their many clyentes and seruantes of them retayned: all these haue supported

supported and mentayned them in their mysdoedes. But all my richesse and helpe, and trust of confort whiche I haue, is in my selfe and not in my kinsmen oz other fauourers: whiche ayde of my selfe I must of necessite defende with my vertue, strenght, and innocencie. For al other thinges whiche these auncient noble men haue to defende them be vn sure to me for I haue them not. Farthermoze noble citezins this I vnderstande that all ye haue good trust and confidence in me: and that all suche as be equall, iust, & good: haue fauour vnto me. For I know wel that my good dedes hath profited the comen weale. And neuertheles these noble men seeke occasion agaynste me, inuadyng and assailing me with their malice & enuy. Wherfore it stādeth me in hande of necessite to labour somuche the moze besely and quickly, that neyther ye be disceyued in this greate truste whiche ye haue in me: & also that al the purposes of mine yllwylers and aduersaries, may be frustrate & nothing auaille agaynste me. Forsoth I haue euer from my chyldehode vnto this age ben of suche behauour that I haue ben accustomed and exercysed in all maner laboures and paryls: whiche I suffred & toke patiently for the comen wele without any reward befoze this your benefite and honour whiche ye haue nowe gyuen to me. Wherfore worthy citezins seyng that ye haue now rewarded me better than I am worthy: I haue not purposed to desist nor leaue of myne olde good wyll ageynste the comen wele: nor now, I rewarded of you purpose not to omitt my good dedes which I dyd frely befoze unrewarded. But touching these aunciēt gentylmen: it is very hard for them to temper themselfe beyng in power oz dignite whiche onely dyd but fayne themselfe good and honest

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before they obtayned promocyō, to thintent to come ther  
by to honoure and dignite. But where as I haue passed  
all my lyfe in right good occupacions by continuall cus-  
tome it is roted in me to do well : and this custome is  
toured with me into nature. Treuth it is: that ye haue  
commaunded me to warre agaynst Jugurth : whiche  
thing these noble men taketh very greuously. I require  
you consyder and dyscus in your myndes and in your  
inwarde consideracion ponder ye : whyther it be better,  
more necessary and expedient to chanuge the same your  
commaundement agayne: and to sende forth some other  
of that sort of auncient gentil men vnto this besynesse  
agaynst Jugurth or els to any other lyke . Send forth  
a noble man of old auncetry: in honour & remembrance  
of whō many ymages may be made and erecte or set vp  
on hye. But of polycie of chivalry or warfare is he bitter  
ly ignozant and inexpert. Wyl ye change your purpose  
and sende forth such one to warfare at pleasure of these  
gentylmen, as who saith: that is best to be done for this  
cause . To thintent that in so great a mater and wighty  
besynesse : suche a captayne more ignozant and ferefull  
than any of all his souldyours, shalbe chosen of you whi-  
che anone after shal chuse forth agayne some one of the  
commen people to be hys maister: to informe and teche  
him in such besynes as to his office & charge belongeth  
hymselfe beyng ignozant of euery thyng necessary to be  
done. By this meane it often fortuneth: that he whome  
ye ordayne to be captayne and commaunder of your ar-  
my : dothe chose an other to be captayne and commaun-  
der ouer hymselfe . In somuche that (if ye indifferently  
iudge) he: whome ye chose for capitayne is muche more  
mete to be made a symple souldyoure, than a capitayne  
ouer



ouer other. And also worthye citizens, I knowe somewhat of these noble menne so farre oute of order, that whan they haue ben made consuls, then haue they geuen them selfe to readyng of actes of theyr elders and predecessours: and of the grekes preceptes of chivalrie: which doubtles may well be called men wythoute order for thys consideration. For they shoulde by due order firste learne to rule theyr office befoze they shulde take vpon them the charge thereof. But they do contrarie. First they take charge of the office, and than after lerne to rule it by waies inordinate: howe be it euery wyse man wyll firste lerne to gouerne an office befoze he desire or take vpon him the rule thereof. But these estates contrarily demeane them selfe. Thus worthy citizens, compare me newe gentlemen with their immoderate pryde, and take diligent consideration whyche is beste: to be not gentle of byrth, and lowely and gentle of maners: or elles to be gentle of bloud, and proude and vngentle of maners. Of suche thynges as they be wonte to heare and to read, somewhat haue I seene, and some I my selfe haue done. I haue learned that by exercise of chivalry, which they haue learned by readyng. Now iudge and consider ye whether is better of deedes or woorkes, of readyng or doyng. They dyspyle my noueltie of honoure and vnnoble lynage, and I dyspyle the vncraftynesse and slouth of them. My happye fortune is obiected of them against me as to rebuke, but shame and dishoneste behaueour maye be obiected and layde agaynst them in rebuke. Is it not truthe that euery mā is come of one lyke nature. I consider and knowe well that one man is not better nor moze noble thē an other, but if it be bi his wisedō, good maners, vertu & strength.

And

## The batayle

And I consider well, that euery man the moze he is endued wyth vertue, the moze excellent and noble he is. Thus is the strongeste, wyseste, and mooste vertuous, mooste excellent in noblenes.

¶ But if the fathers of Albinus and of Calphurnius, late consuls and captayns in Numidie, to the great dishonour and damage of this empire, were now liuyng, that it myght be inquired of them, whether they had leuer that I had ben begotten of them, or els the sayd Albinus and Calphurnius: What thynke ye they wold answer: Forsoth naught els (as I suppose) but that they wolde desire and couet good chyldren and honorable lynage to procede of their stocke and generacion. Thus syth it is so that these estates despise me, reasonably and of ryghte let them also despyse their owne predecessors and forefathers, of whose stocke and lynage they proceeded: whiche came to noblenes and honoure, not by their auncestry, but by their owne strengthe, wysedome, and vertue, lyke as I haue done. They haue enuye at thys myne honour. Than let them also haue enuye at my labours taken for defence of the comon weale: let the enuye myne innocency and greate peryls which I haue ouercome. For by these meanes I haue optayned & also shall mainteyne this honour whych they so greatly enuye. But these men corrupte by pryde, after ye haue promoted them to worshyp, so passe forthe their tyme as if they set naught by your offices and honours by you obtained, but vtterly dyspyled the. Thus they desire suche dignities of duety, as if they were worthy and deserued to haue them by their honest liuyng and vertuous conuersacion. But certainly they be greatly deceiued which looke after two thynges contrary, both together and at  
one

one season. So do these noble men. For they wold haue the voluptuous pleasure of flouth and ydelnes, and the rewardes due vnto vertue and laborious diligence. But when these gentylmen vtter their wordes before you or speke before the Senators: than in the mooste part of their speche they exalt and commend their aun- cetry wening to be counted more noble and excellent by recountyng and reducyng to remembrance the valiant dedes of their progenitours. But it is nothyng so. For how much more excellent the fame and honour of their progenitours was: somuch more shameful and repro- uable is this cowardie ydelnesse of these gentylmen nowe lynyng, which so far go out of kynde from the hono- rable conuersion of their progenitours: as if they had neuer spended of them. And verely this is certayne: the glorious dedes and honorable of forefathers be like an example or luminary vnto their of spring or progeny. So that the same lyght suffreth neyther the good dedes nor bad of their progeny to be hyd. For yf the progeny varie from the glorious actes of their progenitours thā the honour of both is distayned: but if they folow them in vertue, than the lyght and glozie of the progenitours shineth more radiauntly by vertue of their progeny. Of this laude and honoure of my progeny I can not boast me, for they wer but of base degre. Their dedes can not auance me nor make me noble. But it is lawfull to me to speke of myn owne dedes which laude is much more clere and excellent than to boast of other mennes actes. But nowe consyder ye how vntyghtwylse these gentyl- men be to me: they wyll not graunt me that laude and honoure by myne owne vertue and actes: whiche they vsurpe and proudly take vpon the: by vertue of dedes of



## The batayle

other men. And wherfore thinke ye do thei this? Blame  
ly I suppose bycause I haue no ymages of my progeni-  
tours exalted in remembrance of them as these gentyl-  
men haue : and bycause my noblenesse is but newe and  
springyng. But theirs is auncient and by their dysorder  
decaynge. But certainly I counte it moze better and ho-  
norable to be roote and begynner of noblenesse vnto all  
my progeny & to leaue the same vnto my branches: than  
to corrupt and despyle noblenes receyued of my progeny  
as many of these gentylmen do . Forsooth I am not ig-  
norant but that if these estates were now present and  
shulde answer to my wordes their speche shulde be a-  
bundantly painted, ornate and elegant ynough. But sith  
they cease not to blame & reuyle with their lewde wordes  
in euery place bothe you & me for this your great office  
whiche ye haue gyuen vnto me: it hath not pleased me to  
be skyll nor to kepe secreete their fautes: lest some myght  
count me culpable & worthy their rebukes: by reason of  
myne indyscrete patience & sylene. Neuertheles sothey  
their wordes can not greue nor hurt me: after the con-  
frence of myne owne mynd. For if they say trueth they  
can nought say but good and worshipp by me: but if they  
woyl nedes ly on me my maners, my liuing, & couersacio  
is suche that I shall overcome their wordes and proue  
their iniust accusementes fayned and false. But sith  
your counsell is blamed of these noble men bycause ye  
haue commytted to me this great honour and greater  
besynesse : consyder ye in your myndes diligently and  
often whether ye shall nedde to repent you of this dede or  
not. To say trueth I can not host mi selfe of the ymages  
of my progenitors nor I can not recourte vnto you the  
trumpheys or consulshypps of myne auncetry. But if the  
mater

matter required: I coulde wel shewe vnto you speares, standerdes, horse, trappers, harnesse, wyth many other rewardes of chivaltrie: some geuen to me of the Emperoure, and some of other captaynes for myne actes in batayle. And other some which with mine handes I haue wonne of the enemies of the empire. I coulde also if it neded shewe you in the fore parte of my body manifold scarres of many and large woundes which I haue taken in good woorth for defence of our contrey and common weale. These be my ymages whiche I can shew. Thys is my noblenesse, not left to me by heritage (as theirs is to them) but noblenes whiche I haue wonne and gotten wyth greate and sore labours of my bodye, and peryll of my lyfe.

My wordes be not ordred in orzmate langage, nor my speche painted with rethoricke lyke theirs, for I set lytle therby. My vertue sheweth it selfe plainly enough withoute glosed or paynted wordes. But these noble menne muste of necessitie haue crasie for to couer theyr shamefull and vngoodlie deedes, with these eloquente wordes their crasie and rethorike speche. For as for me, I neuer learned the greeke langage, which thyng these estates obiecte agaynst me as a greate faulte. But to be plaine: my pleasure was neuer much to lerne suche thynges, whiche haue lytle auayled vnto the teachers or lerners of the same, neyther to acquilition of vertue nor expulsion of vyce. But I haue learned and am taughte in other thynges muche better and more profitable to the common weale, as to assaile and strike myne enemies, to dispoyle their ordinaunce & bytailes, to chafe their garnisō: nothing to drede nor fear saue any name, to indure & take in good woorth þ plesure of the

## The batayle

lomer and the hardnes of the wynter bothe in lyke: to  
lye vpon the ground, to endure hunger and labour both  
together. Therfore I shall exhort and informe my soul  
diours with these preceptes, which I my selfe haue ler  
ned, bled and assaied. Nor I shal not handle or intreate  
them by craftie to thintente they maye aduaunce me with  
ryches: nor vse them sharply and my selfe plesantly: but  
in every difficultie I shall be their example of labour:  
nor I shal not put the labour to them and take the woꝝ  
shyp to me. This order is profitable. Thus ought a cap  
taine demeanne him amonge his souldiours, and namely  
among worthy citizens. For when a man liueth delicat  
ly him selfe, & driueth his souldiours to the peryl of ba  
taile by punishment or other rigour: he is not to be cal  
led a captaine or ruler of an armie: but rather a pꝛoude  
loꝛde or tirānous oppressor of citezens. Our elders woꝝ  
thely behauing them selfe after this maner, haue made  
noble and excellent & enriched this comen weal, and the  
selfe also. But these states which now lyue, trusting to  
be honored by the worthines of their progenitoꝝ, they  
them selfe vnylike of condicions dispise vs, and haue vs  
in disdaine which folowe the maners of their progeni  
toꝝ. And every hye office, & all honors they chalenge &  
demaunde of you not by their merites, but as it wer of  
duety and heritage. But sothly the ouer pꝛoud men erre  
much from the truth. For though they progenitoꝝ &  
ancestrie haue left to them every thyng which to them  
was possible to leaue: as riches, patrimony, and their y  
mages, for remēbrance & example of them and of theyꝝ  
worthy dedes. Neuertheles theyꝝ vertue haue they not  
lefte vnto them, nor they coulde not keepe it: for that on  
ly canne neyther be geuen vnto theym in rewarde, nor  
received



recreued of any man. These gentelmen say that I am  
a man withoute maners and vncienlye of behaueour.  
And why? fo sooth because that I prepare and dresse  
not curiously many delicious bankets so superfluous  
and deintious as they do: and because I haue no toul-  
ler nor dyzar with me to moue sportes and dissolute  
laughpuge: nor no more curious cooke than one of the  
vilage longyng to rural people, which thinges to haue  
as these gentlemen haue, it pleaseth me not to knowe-  
ledge. For I neuer had pleasure in suche thynges. For  
I haue herde of my father and of other incorrupte and  
well disposed men, that such delicioufenes and curiosi-  
tie belongeth vnto women: and that labour and busy-  
nesse belongeth vnto men. Every good man thinketh it  
more conuenient to haue plentie of worshyp than of ry-  
ches. And more honour it is to a good man to haue the  
walles of his house garnyshe and ouercovered with  
armoure wherewith he may defende his contrey, his  
friendes, and hym selfe, then with riche ornamentes of  
curious worke of no profite saue onely the syghte and  
vaine regarde thereof. But sythe these gentlemen thus  
obiecte suche matters to me: let them continue alwaye  
in suche vyces whiche lyketh them, and that they haue  
ouer reputed so dere. Let them inclyne to voluptuositie:  
as daunsyng, singyng, bankettyng, playng, to lechery  
to glotonye, and dronkennes: for in suche vyces haue  
they spende their youth: in the same let them passe forth  
their age, vterly subdued to the dealy, to sleepe, to ydle-  
nes, and subiect to lustes of the vilest part of the bodye.  
Let them leaue the sweate of fyghtinge, the peryll of  
deathe, the blynding of duste in batayle, and other lyke  
perilles vnto vs, to whome these be more acceptable

## The batayle

than their feestes and voluptuous bankettes or other vile pleasures. But thei do not so, they be not so cōtented. For after y<sup>e</sup> such vngoodly & vyle men haue dishonested themselves, by their foule dedes: than be they redy to take awaye the rewarde of good menne vnto them selfe.

Thus (agaynst all right) lechery and slouth most cursed vyces dothe no hurt to such as occupyeth them: but they be vtter distruction to the commen weale, and commens which be innocent and vnculpable.

¶ But syth I haue made answere to these dysordred gentylmen: and that moderately after my custome and condicion & not so largely as their cursednesse and vices ar worthy. I shall speke nowe a fewe thinges touching the commen weale. And first of al haue ye good trust and esperance touching the besynes of Numidy. For ye haue now moued & auoyded enery thinge wherby Jugurth was defended from beginnynge of the warre vnto this tyme: that is to say the couetyse of Calphurnius, and of Albinus: the vncraftynes & foly of Nulus: and the pride of Metellus. By these found Jugurth socour hitherto but al these be auoyded nowe. Moreover ye haue there an army whiche knoweth the contrey, but verily it is more noble and manly than fortunate or happy. For a great part ther of is wasted and spent (and that wors is infected and corrupted: what by the auarice and by the vnboldnes and cowardyse of their captayns. Wherefore ye whiche be of lusty age and mete to endure the hardnesse of warre and batayle: now labour ye with me, and take ye in hande defence of the commen weale. For let none of you be afrayed nor abashed for misfortune of the other souldiours which haue foughten there before this tyme nor of the pride of their captayns. For I my selfe

selfe as counsellour of your besynes and felowe of your  
 perys shall be present with you in euery besynesse both  
 in your iournays and in your batayle also. So that I  
 shall gouerne you and my selfe withoute difference, and  
 vnder one foyme in euery poynt. And verely by helpe  
 of the goddes we shall withun thozte season obtayne all  
 auantages & commodities whiche any man may wyne in  
 batayle, as prayes, victoꝝ, with immortall lande and  
 woꝝthyp. And certaynlie if these pleasours and auanta-  
 ges were in dout or harde to obtayne (as they be not).  
 Neuertheles it were conuenient to euery good man (as  
 ye be) to socout and defende the common weale of their  
 countrey fro distruccion and dyshonour. For certaynlie  
 there was neuer man whiche obtayned immortal lande  
 nor euerlastyng name by cowardise or sleuth. Nor there  
 was neuer wyse father which wold wyshe his chyldren  
 or sonnes to lyue euer: but only that they myght lyue so  
 longe as they behated them selfe woꝝthely in goodnes  
 and honesty: and so to passe forth their life as naturall  
 course requirerth.

**Worthye Romaynes:** I wolde speake moꝝe vnto  
 you if I vnderstode that strengthe coulde be increased  
 to feble or fearefull menne by wordes: but it is not so.  
 Wherefoze me semeth that I haue sayde enoughe and  
 aboundauntlie to noble and bolde harted menne, as my  
 truste is to proue you.

**Howe Marius after hys exhortacion ended, ande laboꝝ wyth  
 aduantage of warre, and sende foꝝward with the same one Marius  
 hys embassadoure: and howe he hym selfe apone after salued with all  
 hys companye. And howe he behaued hym selfe in thys battayle at the firste  
 begynnyng.**

**Lib. II. Chapter.**

**When**



## The batayle



Van Marius hadde bitred and ended his  
 wordes vnder this forme: and whā he sawe  
 al the myndes of the commens enclined to  
 the war in trust of victorie & prayse. Than  
 anone wythout more delay he caused thyp-  
 pes, to be charged with bityles, and treasour for the  
 souldyours wages, with armour, wepyn, and all other  
 thinges necessary to warre. And commaunded one na-  
 med Aulus Manlius, whiche was assigned embassa-  
 dour to hym, to departe forward with the same thyp-  
 pes so charged. In the meane season Marius himselfe  
 remayned at Rome a lytel time: & chose forth souldyours  
 suche as him thought most expedient: and not after the  
 custome of the olde Romaines his predecessours nor  
 after institution of the auncient captayns, whiche had  
 ordred a certayne maner of peple of whom souldyours  
 shulde be chosen for warfare in tyme conuenient. But  
 contrarywyse Marius admytted euery man indifferently  
 whiche was any thinge lykely and had pleasure to go  
 with him. And many such he admytted also which were  
 pooze and not suffred to go warfare before: lest their  
 pouertie might haue constrayned them rather to fall to  
 robbery than to dedes of chivalry. How beit, it was  
 inacted of the olde Romains that suche excused of war  
 for cause aboue sayd: shulde pay a certayne somme of  
 money pretaxed toward the wages of such as laufully  
 were admytted to warre. Marius suffred none of these  
 to pay any thinge at all: but elect many of them for his  
 souldyours. Manye of the Romaines surmised that  
 Marius elected vnto warre these abiect persons: for  
 want of other good souldyours. Some other demed  
 that he so dyd for fauoure, ambition, and parcialite: by  
 cause

cause this sort of people assisted and honoured hym by  
 auancement at beginning of his promotion. And also  
 men considered that vnto a man desirous of dignitie and  
 power: the most nedy men be most mete and behouable.  
 For suche nedy wretches be moost auenturous: for they  
 haue nought to lose and alway trust in auancement  
 by auenturinge the selfe. And therfore they iudge euery  
 thinge whiche they do: good, honest, and laudable: if any  
 auantage be thereto appendant. Thus dout they no per-  
 rill so that they may come therby to promotioun. At last  
 Marius departed from Rome with somewhat gretter  
 nombre than was graunted and decreed to him of the  
 senatours. Within fewe dayes after that: he toke Gyp-  
 pyng & arrived in the prouince next vnto Affrike vnder  
 the Romans at a towne named Utica. The army whi-  
 che was there with Metellus, was deliuered to him by  
 one Publius Rutilius, which was embassadour with  
 the said Metellus. For Metellus himself fled the sight  
 of Marius by cause he wolde not se that with his eyes,  
 which he coude not endure to here. But whan Marius  
 had restored and fulfilled the legions of his souldyours  
 and the cohortes for the subduyes and rescous. Then  
 went he into a plentiful place of Humidy whiche was  
 full of prayes. Al that he toke there: he gaue frely in re-  
 warde to his souldyours. This done: he assayled suche  
 castels and townes which wer but feble defended with  
 men and walles. He had many batayls & lyght skyrmi-  
 shes: and many other thinges he dyd in other place not  
 with much difficultie. In the meane tyme the newe soul-  
 diours were redy manly fighting without fere: & seing  
 that they which fled wer ether taken or slayne: therfore  
 they aduysed them wel that the strongest & boldest was

## The batayle

most sure of all . They considered wel that it stode them in hande to defende with wepyn and armour their libertie , their countrey, their frendes, and all other thynges longyng to their helth and honour. Thus laboured they for glozie, laude, and riches which they obtained: so that within short season the olde souldiours and the newe increased together cherisshynge and infourmyng one another tyl their vertue and boldnes was like . But when the two kynges Jugurth and Bocchus understode of the comminge of Marius : they deuoyded their hooftes and went in sonder into dyuers places where no man coude attayne to them for difficultie of the places. This was done by counsell of Jugurth. For it pleased him so to do trustyng that within shorte space the Romaines wolde be spred abroad in spoilinge and than thought he to assaile them in euery place when they were moost without fear at libertie , at large , and vnprouided : as men are wont to be specially when their enemies behaueth them as if they were affraied. Than often be the victours vnprouident and lesse circumspect.

*¶* Nowe Metellus the olde consull retourned to Roome , and of the worthy and halpauite behauour of Marius agaynst Jugurth , and of his greate actes at his begynnynge.

### The.iii. Chapter.



In the meane time Metellus returned to Rome: which contrary to his opinion was receyued wyth gladde myndes of the Romaines and after that the enuy whiche Marius had moued agaynst hym was asswaged and ouerpasse: he was lyke dere and beloued bothe to the commens and Senatours.

**C** But



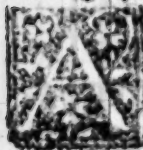
**B**ut Marius on his parte applyed and toke heede to his owne busines and his enemies also without slouth: but with great wisedome. He perceiued well and knew what was good and yll for auantage on both sides. He caused the waies & iourneis of the two kinges to be dai ly searched and espied. He preuented & interrupted their counsels, prouisions and guiles. He suffered nothyng to be vnprouided and vnredie on his side: but on the other syde and party of his enemies, he suffered nothing to be sure or prouided: for alwaie he preuented their prouisions & pursued them. Often while Jugurth and the Getulians spoiled the Numidiens which had yelded them selfe to the Romaines, Marius was redie in their way and valiantly assayled them, & ouerthrewe many of the while they were dispersed abroad and flying away for feare. And also not farre frome the towne of Cirtha, he made Jugurth hym selfe so trust in his flighte, that for hast to ren awaie: he left his armour behind hym. But whan Marius considered that his actes were only glorious and excellent without any auantage, and that he might not execute bataile with Jugurth for his vnsted fastnes and mouinge from place to place, he considered in minde and ordeined hym redy to besiege the cities of the contreys one after another. And namelye suche as eyther of men or of place were necessarie and behouable to his enemies, and contrarye or hurtfull to hym. Thys dyd he, thynkynge that if Jugurthe wythoute disturbaunce suffered hym so to do, he shulde eyther be spoyled and bereft of hys cities, ordinaunce, socoures, and refuge: or els he must abide the fortune of batail, & strue for y mastery in plaine field. Bocchus the kinge of the Mauriens had often sende messengers befoze vnto

## The batayle

Marius: saying that he wold gladly come into fauour, amyle, and frendship of the Romains: and bydding Marius not to dout him as an ennemy noz to fear any thing longing to an enemy to be comitted of him against the Romains. It is but lytel knownen for trueth whether Bocchus fained this thing to the intent that his comming to batayle vnknewen and vnproued myght be to Marius more greuous: or els whether he was wont by vnstablenes of mynd to change peace somtime for warre: and somtime war for peace. But Marius the consul (as he had purposed before) dñ him vnto the castels and townes whiche were walled and defended: and fierly assailed thē. Anone he tourned many of them from his ennemies to him, some by strength & violence, some by feare: and other some by promising and giuing of rewardes and prodicion of their captains. But at first beginning he medled but with meane castels and townes thinking that Jugurth shulde come to defende and socour his people & townes: & so come into danger of the Romains. But whan Marius herde that Jugurth was far thens and occupied in other besinnes: than thought he not to lose his time: but to auenture on gretter thynges wherin was more harde besinnes and laboure and honour. Wherfore he entended to besiege the cite of Capla, which was a greate cite, stronge, and riche.

**C**how Marius wan the greate and ryche Cite named Capla, and howe he utterly destroyed the same and gaue all the ryches thereof to hauecke amonge his souldiours.

The. iiii. Chapter.



**A**mong the most widest & thickest wyldernesles of Numidy was this great & ryche cite named Capla: whiche (as men say) was first bylded by  
that

that Hercules whiche was bozne in the lande of Libya and not by Hercules the sonne of Jupiter & Alcumena Thinhabitours of this cite were ruled by Jugurthe peasably and easely put to no charges nor besinesse, and therfore were they moost true and faythful to him.

They were defended against al ennemies: not onely with walles, armour, and men; but also with much stronger defence of the difficultie and hardnesse of the place and contrey nere about them. So that it was in maner impossible that any army could come nere the for wante of water and scarcite of vitels. For except the feldes and place nere to the cite, all the other be voyde and wast grounde & desert without habitation, bneyzsd, barayne and drie withoute water. All full of serpentes; whiche were somuche moze violent and fiers for lacke of meat and sustenance, as al other wilde beastes be wont to intrage for hunger. And mozeouer the myscheuous and perilous nature of serpentes is moze kindled to raging and vered, with thyzst, thā with any other thing; which thyzst they coude not quenche ther for wante of water. Wherfore neyther man nor beast myght surely passe by the. Whan Marius cast al these difficulties in his mind his hert was persed with a merueylous desyre to wynn this cite, both for that it was muche hurtful to him; and profitable to Jugurth, and also bycause it was herde to do and muche honour myght be gotten in wyninge therof. And mozeouer bycause Metellus the other consull befoze him had won the cite of Thala, with great honour and glory: whiche of sytuacion was not vnylike to this cyte: neyther vnylike in defence. Saue that not far from the walles of Thala were a fewe fontaynes; but about this cite of Capsa was no water, wel, nor



## The batayle

fontayne: saue one and that was within the wals of the citie alway ful of water. All other whiche dwelled without the walles, as in the suburbes: occupied but rayne water. The inhabitantes of that contrey and of all the remenant of Affrike, whiche were far from the see and rude people coude muche the better endure this scarlste of water and thirst: for this cause. For the moost part of them were fed with milke and benyson not loking after salte, sauces, nor other suche thinges as be nozthinges or prouocatiues to glotony. They toke meate & drinke onely to slake their hunger, and to quenche their thirst: and not without measure to prouoke themselfe to pleasure of the fleshe, as many chzisten men do nowe in our dayes: which make of their bely their god. And eate not to liue: but they liue to eate contrary to mannes life, and vtterly encline to bestialite. O cursed glotony let vs chzisten men lerne here of panyms to eschewe thee: which wastest the body and goodes: damnest the soule: and art mother and nozice of all vices. But to retourne to my purpose: this Marius after that he had serched euery thyng by his espies, he proceeded in his interprise and purpose (as men thought) holpen of the goddes. For agaynst so many and hard difficulties he coude not haue made sure prouision by counsel of man nor by his owne priuate witt: as he which had impediment and was letted not onely by sharpnes of the cōtre: but also by lacke and scarcite of wheate and of al other corne. For the Numidiens intendeth moze, to nozische pasture for beastes than to labour or eire the grounde for corne. And also they had brought together all the seed and corne of the yere before into strong holdes as their kynge Jugurth had commaunded them and mozeouer at that season the felde

feldes on euery syde were drye and bare without corne:  
and no maruell. for it was about the extremitie of later  
ende of somer. Not withstanding all these difficulties  
and sharpnesses Marius made prouision ynough as  
the mater required. first he committed all the bestes  
whiche he had taken in pray in fozetyme vnto the horse-  
men, whiche of their owne wyl folowed hym to war: or  
were sende to hym for helpe by frendes of thempire.

Marius commaunded the to take charge to drine forth  
these beastes. Than sent he Aulus Manlius embassa-  
dour of the hoost to a towne named Laris, and all the  
cobortes of his souldyours with hym which were sote-  
men and lyght harnysed for to kepe the treasure of the  
souldyours wages and vitayles: whiche he had lefte in  
the same towne. Marius kept his counsel of this inter-  
prise so secrete that none of all his company hye nor low  
knewe of his purpose nor what he intended. But when  
Manlius and his company shuld depart toward Laris  
Marius dissimuled wyth them sayenge that he woulde  
stray abode in Numidye in rounge and afterwarde  
within fewe dayes: he and his company wold come also  
to the same towne of Laris, laded with prayes of his  
enemies. This done he departed toward a flod named  
Tana: no creature liuely knowyng of his purpose. And  
euery day he distributed in his iournayes amonge his  
hoost. xlii. heed of oxen for vitayle, which he commaun-  
ded to be deuided by euyr porcion amonge them by hun-  
ders and halfe hundreds together: deuidyng vitayls to  
euery company after their nombze. And in the meane  
season he charged bottels and bowges to the hydes of  
the same beaste and of other ledder in gerate nombze.

Moreouer

## The batayle

Moreouer he eased their scarcitie of wheate and other corne, by wyse prouision. And withoute knoweledge of al his company he made good prouision of euery thing whiche myghte be necessary vnto his armye in tyme of nede. At conclusion the syxte daie after whan they were come to the saide floud of Thana, thither was brought a myghtye multitude of bottels and bowges made of leather. There pitched they theyr tentes with easye labour and smal defence. Than refreshed they them selfe with meate and drinke, and eased them a certeine space. This done, Marius comaunded them that euery man shulde be ready to procede forward euen with the sune goynge downe, and that euery man shulde onely lade hym selfe and his beastes with water in the sayd bowges and bottels, leauing al other cariage, burthens and baggage there behynde them in their tentes vnder the custody of other souldiours therto assigned. After thys whan he saw his tyme, he departed forth from his tentes with his company, and labored all the nyght longe in hys iourney. The day after folowynge he rested in a secrete and couerte place. In the same wyse behaued he hym selfe the night next insuing, and in the thirde night muche befoze the day lyghte, he entred into a faire and large felde full of small hylles and downes, no more but two myle space frome Capla. And there he taried with all his hoste in the moste priuiest maner abidyng the daye light. But assone as the day light began to appear, many Numidiens issued forth of the towne: some to disport them selfe, and some about their busines, nothinge fearinge nor suspecting of their enemies. Whan Marius sawe that, anone with al hast he sent his horsemen to the towne, and with them as many fotemen in  
lyght



lyght harnesse as were moost swyft and spedy. Whome he commaunded to ren with all hast and boldely and valiantly to assaile the towne: and to besyge the gates. Than after he hymselfe folowed spedely: but with good hede and aduise ment: not sufferynge his souldyours in the assaut noz in the way thyderwarde to fal to robbing noz praies by spoyling of their enemies. Whan thynhabitantes of the towne knewe herof: their case was vn sure, their feare greate and horrible: for the sodeyne chaunce of them was nothynge suspected befoze, noz prouided. Many of the cetezins whiche were without the towne and were taken and in power and captiuite of the Romans their ennemies sent vnto them withyn the towne desyring them for sauegard of their liues to yelde them selfe & the cite to Marius. So was it done at cōclusion. Howbeit this not withstanding Marius bzent the cite. All the Numidiens inhabytantes therof which were of full age and able to bere wepen were slaine: and the remanent as women, children, & aged men were taken prisoners and solde for their raunsome. The pray and richesse was deuided among the souldyours. This dede againste the lawe of armes was not thus done by Marius: by couetyse noz any other crueltie of hym: but because the towne & place was profitable, and necessarye to Jugurth and to the Romans harde to come to. And the maner of the people proued mouable and vnlaful euer of nature befoze: and neyther refrained from their yll appetite by benefite or good dede: noz yet with awe or feare of punyshement.

How Marius by fortune more then by strengthe wonne the strongeste castie of all Numidy, wherein were the treasures of Jugurth.

The. lxxij. Chapter.

Cc.i.

After

## The batayle



After that Marius had brought to ende so greate and harde an interprise withoute anye losse or dammage to hym or any of his people. Though he wer reputed noble, great and excellent before: than begane he to be counted moze famous and excellent. Euery noble dede: was reputed to be done by strength and wisdom of Marius: and ascribed to his strength and polycie. And that suche thynges as were done by good counsell and prouision, and also suche as hapened by fortune or chance: and by neglygence of ennemies. The souldiours were so manerly treated without crueltie or fierinesse of their captayne, and also made riche and abundant in treasure and iewels: that they exalted and prayled his name to the heuen. And loued hym as themselves. But in contrary wyse the Numidyens feared hym moze than any man lyuyng. Shortly to speke: both the frendes of the empire and ennemies also thought verily that eyther Marius had a godly minde and was a god himselfe: or els that he was priue with the goddes: and dyd al his dedes and besynesse by their aduysle, counsell, and prouision: which shewed him before what shuld fortune after. But whan this chaunce had fortunied so well at Capsa: anone Marius dree him to other towne, and toke as many as he besyged. In some towne the Numidyens resysted him to their power: but it coude not auayle. In many other towne the dwellers gaue the ouer & lefte them voyde and ran away fering so to be treated and delt withal as they of Capsa were: because their towne were lyke behouable to Jugurth, and hurtfull to Marius. Whan Marius came to any such towne: destitute and boide of dwellers he set fyre in them and bzent them grounde.  
smothe

finothe . The aged menne, women and chyldren tooke them to woodes and caues to hyde them selfe . The yong men & lusty which were taken, were slaine downe ryghte . Thus was euerye place fylled with wepyng and waylinge, brenninge and slaughter : one myngled with another. Finally after th at Marius had wonne in to his handes many townes and castels, and some without resystence or bloudshedinge of his menne, he wente in hande wyth an other maystrie and difficulte not so sharpe nor harde to come to as was Capsa , but to be wonne or besieged it was not lesse harde nor of lesse difficultie .

Not far from the flood of Mulucha (which water deuideth the kyngdome of Jugurth, from the kingedome of Bocchus) was a great rocke or mountaine of stonne in the middes of a playne, open ynough to be sene haue yng therupon builded a meane castle of quātitie , but of a meruelouse altitude, and only one straye passage and narrowe leste to come thereto. But on euery other syde, the rocke of naturall growyng was downe ryghte lyke a walle, as if it had ben made for the nonce wyth mans handes. Marius purposed with all his myghte to take this castle : & namely because the treasures of Jugurth wer within the same. But this his purpose at last came to effecte, rather by chaunce of fortune, than by prouision or counsell. For thys castle was garnyshe and plentifulyeste inflozed wyth men, wepyn, vitayles, and with all other ordinaunce requisite & necessarie to defence of such a fortres. Moreouer within the same was a fountain plēteful of clere water. And beside this y situation therof was suche y without meruelous difficultie & vnmesurable labour no enemies might attaine or approche



## The batayle

here therto their ingines of bataile to frushe the walles  
oz any other part therof. Beside al these defences the dou-  
ble walles of this castel were garnyshe with towres,  
bulwarkes, and all other defences and ingynes whiche  
coude be ymagined by mannes mynd: and that rotonde  
about compasse aswell within, as without. The way  
therto: by whiche the inhabitantes and garnison vled to  
go and come, was very strait and narrowe. In somuch  
that the Romaines entring by the same way with their  
ingines of bataile were constrained to cut their pauases  
on both sydes & to make them moze narrowe for straye-  
nesse of the passage. And in suche maner they proceded  
forward vnder the same in great parill and with much  
difficultie: and at conclusion al in bayne. For whan they  
were come nere to the walles & wolde haue set vp and  
adioyned the same pauases to the walles to haue vnder-  
mined vnder them: all their labour was frustrate. For  
what with stones and what with fire the defenders of  
the castel brake and bzente them agayne downe to the  
grounde. Thus coude not the souldyours which vnder-  
mined the walles contynue together at their worke and  
besinesse: for strytenes and difficultie of the place and  
importune violence of the within the castell. Noz other  
souldyours coude not serue them whiche made and re-  
pared the pauases without great paryll and daunger.

For continually as faste as they rayled the pauases to  
couer and defende them selfe: they were broken & bzent  
bytweene their handes. In the meane time no souldyours  
was so good, stronge, noz bolde: but that he was eyther  
wounded oz beaten downe to death. The was fear encre-  
sed to other that were feble and faynt herted.

¶ But after that many dayes & greate labours in this  
maner

B. 2.

maner were ouerpasse and spent in bayne. Marius was sore angred & vexed in his herte, reuoluing many thinges in mynde, but specially whether he mighte giue ouer his purpose (seing his labour frustrate) or elles abide the chaunce of fortune which at many times befoze he had found fauozable & friendly to hym. While Marius chafed & brenning in desire reuolued such thinges in his mynd both day and night: it happened by chance of fortune that a certeine Lumbarde a symple souldioure, one of the companie which was laste sente from Rome to Numidy to supply the army, strayed abrode from his companie a lytle way, which Lumbard as he wandzed found among the stones many small snailes creping on the ground, not farre from that side of the castle whiche was ouer againste the side that the Romaines besieged and assailed. Bycause this Lumbard in his contrey was acostumed lyke other of his contrey menne to eat such snailes prepared after their maner: therefore he gathered first one and than an other, and after that many: ascending bp by lytle and lytle, somtime creping, somtime clyming, for no other intent and purpose saue to gether suche snailes: and so farre he proceeded by lytle and litle tyl at last he came almoste to the top of the mountayne. But whan he sawe all that syde of the castle desolate, & no person steryng, anone he beganne to haue a pleasure and desire in his mynde to worke some mastrie, as the propertie and condicion is of euery manne couetinge to wyne a name, laude and riches, and to be spoken of. By chaunce of fortune in the same place where the Lumbarde stode in this aduiselemente among the stones grue a greate and olde oke tree hauinge the middes a lytle bowing doونه toward the grounde, and the remenant

C.iii.

crokyng

f f f

h h h

## The batayle

erokynge bpwarde againe with myghty armes & bran-  
ches ascendyng to the hiest of the walles with the toppes  
erect and lyfted vp as euery herbe and tre of nature is  
wont to growe bpwarde at the top. This lumbarde wel  
advised the same and aduentured to clyme bpwarde ta-  
kyng his holde somtyme by the branches and bowes of  
this oke: and somtime takyng holde and leanyng by the  
stones which appered forth in the wal, tyl at the last he  
attayned vnto the verry top of the wall. And whan he  
sawe no man styzyng on that part there stode he styl es-  
pyed of no man and noted & consydzed wel at his plea-  
sure al the inwarde part of the castel & the playne with-  
in the walles about the towre. This lumbarde hadde so  
muche the moze leasour to take so long aduise-  
ment vnespyed for al the Numidiens defenders of the castel were  
on the other syde attendyng & gyuing hede to the assault  
and defendyng themselfe and the castel agaynst the Ro-  
mayns. Whan the lumbarde had espyed and consydzed  
euery thinge whiche he thought might be auantage to  
his after purpose: than he descēded agayne downeward  
by the same way which he ascēded: but not without hede  
noz with so lytel aduise-  
ment as he ascended bpwarde:  
but prouyng euery way, and lokyng about yf it were pos-  
sible to brynge into the castel any company of men by  
that syde oz not. This wel cōsydzed: assone as he descen-  
ded: anone he went to Marius and informed hym of  
euery thinge as he had done exhortyng and requyryng  
hym to put in pzoefe whether the castel might be won on  
that syde wher he had ben. Fartherhmoze he promised  
hymselfe to be gyde vnto suche as wolde vndertake that  
interpryse sayeng that in the matter was no danger.  
Marius heryng these wordes of the lūbard, send forth  
with



woyth him certayne of his men of the which were there present to vnderstand and knowe the truth of the mater. Whan they had ben there and retourned to Marius agayne : some brought hym worde that the mater was easy to do:and some other sayde that it was very harde and perylous. The sentence of euery man was after as their mindes gaue them. The cowards thought it hard but such as were of bolde hertes & desyrous of worship thought it easy and without much peryl. Neuerthelesse the minde of Marius was somewhat exalted to comfort, and good hope:and therfore of al the company of trumpettes, and of other suche mynstrels as be wont to be in batayle to giue courage and signes to the fighters, he chose forthe fyue whiche were mooste swyfte and mooste lyghte : and foure hundred menne he assigned to assyste and defende the sayd trumpettes. And al them he commaunded to obey to the lumbarde and to be ruled and ordered by him in euery thyng. The day next folowynge was assigned to them to procede forth in their besynesse. Whan the tyme assigned and preferred by Marius was come the lumbarde with his company had made redy and ordered euery thyng:and so went to the place where he had ben befoze. But whan they wer come thyder:the lumbarde their gyde caused the to change their armour, and to make bare their heades and their fete:to thintent that they so bare heded the better might se aboue them and on euery syde of them:and that they being bare fote might labour so muche the better and take better holde in clymmyng vp by the stones. Their swerdes were fastened behynd at their backes & their bucklers withall which wer made after the fashio of the Numidiens bucklers of lether:bycause of lighter waight and burthen.

And

## The batayle

And also to thinnent that they shuld gyue les sound or noyse, if it hapned any stone to smite againste the. This done: the lumbarde went vp before them, and bounde smal cordes to the stones and to the olde rotes whiche apered aboue the stones where he coude espy any suche wherby the souldyours sustaining themselves and taking hold might more lightly and with more ease mount and clyme vppward. And somtime he went before and helped them vp with his handes speciall suche as for that vncustomed way were somewhat fereful. Somtyme whan thascending or going vp was ouer harde and sharpe: he put eche of them vp before him without armour: and than he himself folowed with their armour and wepyn. Such places where most dout was in: he specially p[ro]ued and assayed them most of al: & in goyng and coming often times vp and doونه by the same most dangerous passages: he encreased audacite and boldnesse to the remenant. Thus after thei had ben soze werped, and with long and great labour endeuored themselves: at last they came into the castel, whiche on that syde they founde desolate and without defence. For (as sayd is before) al they whiche were within the castel were occupped in fightyng, or redy to fight against the Romains: as they were on other dayes before. But whan Marius vnderstode by messangers how the lumbarde had done: how be it that al the day before his men had ben soze besied and occupped in fightyng: and assayling the castel. Neuertheles specially at this tyme he exhorted and embolded them: and he himself departing forth from vnder his pauases caused his souldyours to adioyne themselves nere together, & to holde vp their shyldes aboue their heedes so that the coioyning of them semed as it wer the frame of

of a bolt. Marius kept him vnder the same for his defence, and so approached to the walles. And bothe he and his company whiche were nere about him valiantly assailed the castel: and also other of his company which stode a far of and coude not come nere the walles for pzease: assailed the castel fierly from a far & soze bered and put in feare their enemies within the castel throwyng against the plumettes of leed with slunges, arrowes dartes, & al other maner engyns of batayle wherewith any thynge coude strongely be throwen into the castel.

But the Numidiens within the castel had often befoze this time ouerturned and bzent the tentes & pauases of the Romans & toke therby so great audacite & boldnes that they defended not themself within the castel walles but walked by & downe without the castel walles bothe day and night reuiling and reprovinge the Romayns and objectyng cowardyse agaynst Marius. And thretnyng that his souldyours shuld be made subiectes and bonde men to Jugurthe in tyme to come, whome they purposed at that tyme to make bonde to them. Thus whyle they thought themselfe sure and their matter in good case: they were harde and egar ynough reuylinge & thretnyng the Romayns. In the meane space whyle the Romans and their ennemies were besest fighting withall their myght: the Romans for laude, glorie, and lordshyp: and the Numidiens for their helth and sauing of their liues. At none sodenly the lumbarde with his company which were within the castel on the backside blew their trumpettes. First of all the women and children whiche went to the walles to se the bykeringe were al abashed and fled inwarde to the castel: and after them al the souldiours which were without and nerest to the



## The batayle

walles and coude escape in . And finally they all bothe armed and vnarmed fled inuward. Whan the Romans savor this they assailed the castel moze fierly: some they fletw and ouerthrew: some they wounded ouerpasing or standyng vpon the bodyes of them whiche were slayne. All their desyre was with their handes to wyne glorie and woorthyp . They stryued to ascende vnto the walles euery man couetyng to be before other . None of them al taryed nor was let with spoylinge nor prayes. Their great courage suffred them not to loke there after, tyl by manhode and strength they had won the castel. Thus was fortune fauorable to Marius: so that his first negligence & vnwise boldnes to assaile a castel inexpugnable was tourned by chance from rebuke to glorie and laud such was his fortune. But whan Marius had won his castel after estimation of man not able to be won: than was he lord of the moost part of al the treasure of Jugurth: the castel was gyven all to murder and hauocke. And the souldiours of Marius richely rewarded euery man after his desert.

How in the meane tyme while this castle was in wymping, a noble man of Rome named Lucius Sylla came from Rome to Marius with a great bende of horse men, and of the maners and behaueour of thys Sylla.

The. iij. Chapter.



In meane tyme while this fier assault & victory was concluded at this castel: a famous lord of Rome named Lucius Sylla, treasurer of the army came fro Rome to Marius with a great bende of horsemen. Whom the same Marius at his departing from Rome had left there to raise & assēble socout to the war among þe Italiens & other nacions, frēdes & louers of thepire of Rome.

But

**B**ut forasmuche as the matter moueth vs to make mention of so woorthy a man & of his disposicio & maners therfore it semeth me couenient in this part somewhat to write of his behauioure and conuersacion: and that as brefely as I may conueniently: namely for two causes. The first for that I intende not to make relacon of his behauiour and maner in any other place of his cronycle saue here. Secondly for asmuch as none other authour hath written sufficiently of hym. For howebeit that one historiograph named Lucius Silenna: wrote most dyligently and best of his actes of any other before: neuertheles me semeth that he spake lytel acording to truth nor indyfferently. For his tong nor pen were not at lyeberte for asmuche as he was somewhat in danger to that said Sylla: wherbi he was prohibited to say or to write acording to the trueth. For what by fauour and what by fere he durst not touche plainly the vices which were in him. But here I purpose (al fauour & fere laid a part indifferently to write of him.

**T**his Sylla of progeny, was descended of most noble stocke of the Romains. How be it the name of hys auncestrie was almost lost and decayed by dulnes, negligence and slouth of some of his lynage. In greke and latyn he was of lyke connyng, and excellently seene in both the langages, his mynde was greate and bolde of corage. Of voluptuous pleasures he was desirous, but much moze desirous of glozy and laude. In vacant leasure he was much enclined to y lustes of his body. But such pleasure or voluptuousnes dyd neuer let nor wythholde hym from any busines or occupacion necessarye: how be it such pleasure blynded hym y he toke no wife of birth, maners, and honesty couenient for his estate.

## The batayle

He was muche eloquent of speche crafty and subtyll ynough. He had the wayes easely to get frendshyp, and it was also no maistry to get frendshyp of him: in faining dissimulynge, & countrefaytinge of besynesses: his wytte was very hye and excellent. He was a marueylous and incredyble gyuer of many thinges, but specially of money: and before the warre and victozy whiche the noble men of Rome: had agaynst the commen people: He was so noble & worthy reputed that it is in maner incredible noz his good fortune neuer passed the policy of his wytt: in somuch that many men wer in dout whyther he was more fortunate than stronge. But after the victozy of this warre: so vngoodly was his demeanour & so cruel, that verily I knowe not whyther I may more be ashamed oz greued to wyte oz to speke therof. For after that this warre of Numidy was ended: and bothe Marius and this Sylla were retourned to Rome: a greate discord fel bytwene the lordes and commens. Marius toke part with the commons: but Sylla toke with the lordes & at last droue Marius forth of the citie. After that: an other man of great power called Cynna whiche had ben fyue tymes consul of Rome gathered an host of men & toke parte with Marius agaynst this Sylla. But at conclusion Sylla ouercame hym in bataile: and slewe hym. After this: Sylla cruelly murdred an other noble man of Rome named Caius Carbo: and with hym yonge Marius, sone of this Marius whiche warred in Numidi. Last of al when this Sylla had won victozy ouer Marius and his fauourers: than became he most cruel of al other: in somuch that he fylled al the citie with blod of the citezins. But here wyl I leaue to speke farther of this Sylla, oz of his behauour in crueltye



eltie, and refourne to wypte of hys behaueoure in thys warre of Numidie vnder Marius.

After that this Sylla (as I haue saide befoze) was come to Affrike, and to the hoste of Marius with hys company of hozslemen, within shorte season he became mooste experte in chiuallrie and craftie aboue all other: howe be it befoze this tyme he was but rude and ignorant in dedes of chiuallrie. And mozeouer he treated & gouerned his souldiours with maners and meekenes. And gaue rewards to many: to some which desired him and to some other of his owne pleasure not desired ther to. But he wolde take no rewardes nor gyftes againe, without it were against his wyll. And if he so dyd at any tyme againste his wyll: than was he moze readie to giue againe that which was geuen to hym, than to pay that money which he had bozowed of other. He demaunded nothing againe of any man, though it wer due and det to hym: but rather he labored and endeouored hym selfe that many might be in his det, and bi such meanes to haue them bound to him. And how be it that he was one of the greatest of Rome, yet disdained he not the company of the most symple souldiours of the hoste: but communed and accompanied with them both in sportes and in sadnes. In labours he was alway ready. In bataile and watching, with other busines of war he suffered no man to be befoze hym. Nor in the meane season he neyther hurt the good name of the consul, nor of none other good man: which thyng men desirous of worshyp & honour be often wonte to do: for in dispraysinge of other, they thynke to obtaine greate laude to the selfe. He only labored that none myght passe hym neither in counsell, nor in myght, or manhod of his handes: But he passed

## The batayle

manye. By whiche maners and condicions in thozte tyme he became verye deere and welbeloued, not onely to Marius: but also to all the hooke.

How Marius preypled in batayle againste the. ii. kinges, Jugurth and Bocchus.  
The. lvi. Chapter.

**B**Ut whan Jugurth had lost the towne of Capsa, as is sayd before: and diuerse other fortresses and other places defensyues whiche to him wer profitable. And also a great quantite of his treasour, wherin he mooste trusted: Anone he sente messangers to kynge Bocchus requiring him in al hast to come to Numidy & to bring his army with him: saing that it was hye time to make batails with Marius. But whan he vnderstode that Bocchus prolonged the time in ouerlong taryeng, haue yng diuers considerations and war, as he that was in dout of the chaunce and fortune of the ende thereof. Jugurth agayne corrupted the next of his counsel with giftes in likewise as he had done before: and promised vnto the king Bocchus himselfe, the third part of the kingdome of Numidy: if the Romains were dzyuen out of Affrike, or if the warre shulde be brought to ende without losse or diminishing of his kingdome and marches thereof. The kinge Bocchus induced with hope of this rewarde: with a great multitude of people came to Jugurth, and adioyned both their armies together in one.

**A**t this tyme Marius wyth hys compayny was in his iourney toward a prouince which was in the coast of Affrike and apartained to thempire: where the sayd Marius purposed to rest with his cōpany, tyl the winter were paste. But whan he was in his iourney and in  
left

least doute: Jugurth and Bocchus both together invaded and set vpon him & his men whan the tenth part of the day scarcely remained. This dyd they, thinking that the night which was nere come, shuld to them be great socour and defence if they were ouercome: & if they dyd ouercome the Romains, it shuld be to them no damage nor impediment, bicause they knewe the contrey & place better then the Romaines. But on the other syde bothe these chaunces in darkenes, were hard and contrary to the Romains: for they knewe not the coastes of that contrey. Marius anone had vnderstanding of the comyng of his enemies by many of his espyes, but it was ouer late. For as sone as he hadde worde, his enemies were euen at hande: In so much that befoze the army coude be set in order or araye, and or they could remoue or gather together their baggage whych at that tyme was a brode: and befoze they could take any commaundement of theyr captayne by worde or sound of trumpets: The horsmen of the Mauriens and of the Getulians ran together vpon them, not in order or araye of batayl: but by companies and bendes together, as it fortuneth them to come together in heapes and clusters. The Romains for the moste parte were all amased and greuously abashed for that sodaine and vnprouided feare. Nevertheless they forgat not their olde manhod and strength: Some drew them to theyr armour, and other some whiche were armed already defended their felowes tyl they armed them selfe. Other some mounted on horsebacke and boldly rode againste their enemies, and encountered them valiantly. The fyghte on both parties was moze lyke a skymische amonge byrgandes and rovers, then to any appointed or ordered batayle.

For



## The batayle

For the horsmen and fotemen were myngled together without standerdes, cognisances, or any ordinaunce, arraye or order. The Mauriens and Numidians were fierse on their syde. Some of the Romains they beate downe and ouerthrew. Some they wounded mortally: And many they berefte vtterly of their lyues, and slew them in that place. The remenant whiche Charplye and manlye resisted, they compassed them aboute on euerye side, and as well behynd as befoze assailed them: so that neyther manhod, strength nor armour, was able sufficiently to defend them: And no maruel, for their enemies were mo in number than they: and compassed them aboute on euery syde of them. But finally the Romaine souldiours which were both of olde and newe, & therefore both strong, bolde, and craftie in batayle: gathered them as nere together as they myght. And wher it fortun-ed any number of them to meete together, they tourned backe to backe, and ioynded them round one with another in maner of a compasse or cyrle: and so they saued and defended them selfe together that on the backe halfe no man coulde assaile them, but if he brake in thorowe the myddes of them, which was in maner impossible. By this maner they sustayned the myghte of theyre enemies, and also saued them selfe. For their captayne Marcius in this ieoperdous and sharpe busynes was not afrayed at all, nor of lesse corage and boldenes then he was befoze: but styrr-ed about euery where in the batayle. And his men of garde about hym, whom he had chosen rather of the strongest and boldest menne of the hoste, than of suche as were moste familiar wyth hym. For he set more by the audacitie of them, than by the familiaritie of the other: & namely in suche a leopardous case,

case. Somtime he socoured his souldiours in their nede  
 of suche as he sawe in peryl. And somtyme he ran in a-  
 mong his enemies: wher thei wer thickest. And notwithstanding  
 standing their resistance he assailed the valiantly: & wound-  
 ed, slewe, & ouerthwe them on euery syde his weapen  
 in the red bloud of the blacke Mauriens & Getuliens.  
 And bycause that in so harde a case: and in so great and  
 troublous noyse and rumour, he coude not counsel nor  
 comforte his souldiours with his tonge, therefore he  
 thought to counsel, incorage, and confort them with hys  
 hande, giuing them example surely to bestow their stro-  
 kes. Many of his enemies send he to hel crieng in vain  
 vpon their ydolles of helpe. The dartes, iauelyns pikes  
 plumettes of leed, stones, with other such instrumentes  
 of bataile were cast so thicke on bothe parties, that the  
 aire therewith was dimmed. The strokes wer so courly  
 charged on the bright helmes and harnesse, that the fire  
 sprang out on euery side: so that it seemed to be the lyght-  
 ning: the cry of the men dieng: the neieng of the horses:  
 and the dyn of the strokes, wyth the sounde of the trum-  
 pettes: was horrybe & tedious to here. Thus continued  
 they tyl the day light was passed, and the night come.

The Numidians, getulians, & maurians desysted nor  
 ceassed nothing for that. But as bothe Jugurth and  
 Bocchus before had warned and commaunded them:  
 they continued more sharply than before, thinking that  
 the darkenesse of the night shuld be for their auantage  
 Marius this vnderstanding toke counsel & made best  
 prouision for himselfe and his men: whiche he might in  
 suche case: and as the mater required. And to the intent  
 that his people mighte haue some place to resorte vnto,  
 for refuge and socours: he provided before and occupied

## The batayle

two hylles nere together of whome the one was ouer narrowe, and of litle grounde to receiue hys hole army and tentes: but in the top therof was a fayre fountayne of pure water much necessary. The other hyl sufficiently large to receyue his hole hoost and tentes: and also very defensyue, for it was of a great altitude & downe right on euery syde. In somuch that they whiche shulde take that hil wer sure ynough without great defence of therselue, for nature had it sufficiently defended. This wel considred: Marius commaunded Sylla his vndercaptene to take with him all the horsmen, and to tary that nyght about the smaller hyl where the fountayne was. This done: he himselfe gathered together by litel and litel the remanent of his souldyours dispersed abrode: their enemies being not lesse troubled than were they. Whā Marius had thus assembled agayne his men together he led them all with ful cours vp vnto the larger hyl.

Thus the two kinges Jugurth and Bocchus seyng it in vayne to fyght with them whiche were on the hyer ground, & also on so sure a place: wer constrained to leaue the fight: for difficultie of the place which the Romans had taken. But neuertheles in the meane tyme they suffered not their men to departe far thens: but compased bothe the hylles round about with their hole multitude and there taryed & rested, shed abrode vpon the ground. Whan they hadde taken their place in this maner: they made great fiers here and there in many places of their hoost: & the barbarians after their custome passed forth the most part of the night in myrth, pleasure, & gladnes reioysing, daunsyng: and making great noyse and dyn: rennyng and goyng from place to place: & loudly crieng synging & reuellyng. The kynges themselves were also not



not a litle proud and fierse because they had not fledde from the batayle, and counted the selfe as overcomers seyng that they helde the Romans so besieged, whiche as they thought durst not abyde the. On the other part the Romayns intentifely gaue aduertens to the demeanour of their enemies. And for that the Romans were on the heygth of the hyll and withoute lyghte: therfore moze easy from darkenes of hyer places they perceiued all the dedes and behaueure of their enemies whiche were beneath them: and much moze evidently by lighte of the fyers. This vnwoyse behaueour of the Numidyans put the Romans in great confort, and was greate courage to them. And specially Marius was greatly confirmed in hope seyng their negligence, their folpe, & vnecraftines: Wherfore he commaunded his folke to kepe silence as styll as myght be possible without any noyse. In so much that he suffered not the trumpets to sounde the watch as warriours are wont against nyght. Afterwarde whan the daye began to apeare, the Numidyans were all wearyed with their cryng, ouer late watchyng, and reuell: and had geuen them selfe to reste a litle before as men without feare or dout of the Romaynes. But certainly it is a true prouerbe which is often sayde, that after faire wether succedeth tempestuous cloudes, & after mirth and ioye often cometh sadnesse and sorow. So it happened to the Numidyans. For whyle they ingorged and fylled with wyne laye sleeppng on the ground as beastes without feare & without prouision: Marius commaunded sodenly al hys trumpets, claciones with other minstrels to sound their instrumētis as thurle as they could altogether, & that al hys souldiours shuld set vp a shout or cry as horribly as they myght:

Ex. ii.

and

## The batayle

and with that invade and breke into the tentes of the Numidiens. This was shortly done: wherfore the Numidiens, Mauriens, and Getuliens astonied & abashed with that vnknown and horryble noyse: were sodenly awakened of sleape: and seying the thus compased with their ennemies: what for feare of deth & the noyse, they were so amased that they hadde no power neyther to fle nor draw to them their armour, nor vtterly to do or provide any manner socour for themselfe. Thus they stode astonied for this horrible noise and cry as if madnesse had entred them: none able to socour himselfe nor other. The Romans alway increased to them their noise and feare assailing, murthering, and wounding them without any resistance. Finally al they were other ouerthrowen, slayne, or wounded: or els fled, their armour, standerdes and weapen left behynde them: and mo were in this batayle slaine: than in all the batayls before. For amonge them al none was taken prisoner: for with fere & sleape so amased were they, that fewe escaped by flight.

Of the great prouision and wisdom of Marius after hys victorie, and of the second batayle which he had against the two kynges: in whiche also he had great victory with laude & honour. The. lviij. Chapter.



When Marius hadde gloriously thus overcome the most part of his ennemies except the two kynges: he dree him than toward his wyntering place as he had purposed before. And ordered himselfe and his men specially in haven townes because of more easy prouision of vitels: but neuertheles: in his iourney thiderwarde: for al his victorie: he became not negligent, vnware, nor proude: as captains often at want after victorie gotten of their enemies: but he provided and wente forwarde with

with his army quadrate and deuided into foure parties  
ordzed and appointed as if his enemies had ben in his  
syght. Sylla was assigned to take charge of the ryghte  
winge of the armie, and all the spere menne with hym.  
And Mulus Manlius of the lyfte winge: and with him  
the syngers, archars, and the cohorts of Lumbardes  
The pety captaines with sotemen of lyght harnes, wer  
distributed and diuided in the banigard and ceterward.  
Of the treytours which had forsaken Jugurth & came  
to the Romaines, such as were best labored, and knewe  
best the contrey were chosen forth and sent out to espye  
the contrey and wayes of Jugurth and Bocchus. But  
notwithstanding Marius him selfe was as prouident,  
circumspect, and diligente withall, as if he had comitted  
the charge to none other. He was mouinge continually  
from place to place ouer all the army: lauding, comen-  
ding and rewarding the good souldiours: and blaiming  
and rebuking the bad: he hym selfe armed, and diligent  
lie prouiding and ministring vnto them euery thing ne-  
cessarie and expedient: and compelled them that wer fro  
ward and yll wyllinge to labour. In euery place where  
he set his tentes in his iourney, he ordzed defence wyth  
depe dyches and trenches round about his host. And in  
the entres of the tentes he assigned souldiours elect ther  
to, to kepe watche, and some to kepe scout watche about  
the tentes in compas. Moreover some other he ordzed  
on the casting of the dyches and on outward bulwarks  
to defende the remenant if any sodaine peryll apearede.  
He him selfe armed myghtely went about and searched  
the watch. Not specially for any feare nor mystruste of  
anye peryll to come, nor for feare that his souldiours  
would not obay his commaundemente. But chiefly to



## The batayle

the entent that the souldyours seying their captayne not refusing labour nor payl: shulde be also more wylling to folowe the same and take payne vpon themselfe as ashamed if they dyd not as muche as their captayn. And certainly at this tyme & at many other during this war (as I rede) Marius constrayned his souldyours to labour rather for shame than with sharpsnes or punishment. For shame it is to the seruant to be ydle whan the maister soze laboꝛeth. Howbeit some sayd that Marius toke this labour vpon him for the desyre of commendacion and woꝛshyp: bycause that from his youth he was euer wont with hardnes, hunger, thirst, and labour: and many other thynges whiche the delycate gentylmen of our tyme count for miseries. But to Marius wer these hardneses muche pleasure & delite for affection whiche he had agaynst the comen weale, as equal persones supposed. But to what euer intent Marius: treated his army in his wyse: it was knowen that his dedes dyd asmuche profet and woꝛshyp to the comen weale of Rome: as if he had more rigorously & sharply treated his souldyours. For al thynges were ordred wel and woꝛthely for the honour & profet of the comen weale as he had more rigorously treated his army.

¶ But to retourne to my purpose: whan Marius with suche dyligence as said is: was come not far from the towne of Cirrha, at the last the fourth day after the forsayd batayle: the espyes of their ennemies appered on euery side. The Romains vnderstod anone therby that their ennemies were at hande. The espyes of the Romayns also whiche were sende soꝛth: brought the same tidynges from euery coost of the countrey. Marius perceyued that hys ennemies were in diuerse compaynes  
and

and deuīded : wherefoze he was vncertayne howe he might best order his host to receyue them: And therfoze perceyuing it vnſure : hobo to order the forefront of hys batayle as it ought : he abode hys enemies in the ſame place no order chaunged with his hoost deuīded in.iiii. partes(as ſayd is)as he which was redy and prouided for euery chaunce . Thus was Jugurth diſcerued and fruſtrate of hys purpoſe. For he had deuīded hys hoost into four partes truſtyng to inuade ſome of the Romayns on the backehalfe with parte of his army : and with an other parte to encounter with them , and with the other two partes to encloſe them on bothe the ſydes and ſo to enuyron them rounde aboute. In the meane time Sylla which firſt encounterd with Jugurth exhorted and comforted his men alwel as he might for breuitie of the time . That done:anone he proceeded with hys company by bendes and cluſters together, their hozles conioyned in the moost thickeſt maner:and ſo fierſly aſſayled the Maurians. The remanent of the footemen which wer vnder Sylla :remayned and kept themſelſe ſtyl in their firſte place, and defended theyr bodies from the darter whyche their ennemies threwe againſt them from farre . But if it chaunced any of their ennemyes to come betwene their handes,they hewed them downe to decreaſe the number.

**¶** While Sylla and his hozſemen thus fierſely were fyghtyng on the ryght wyng of the batayle: The kinge Bocchus aſſembled together the footemen whome hys ſonne named Uolux , had broughte thither wyth hym. Theſe footemen had ſuche impedimente in theyr iourneye thitherwarde that they came ouer late to the other batayle which was laſte foughten befoze this.

Where

## The batayle

Wherefore Bocchus: whan he had assembled & inbolded with his wordes these freshe fotemen: with the he assailed fierly the rere warde of the Romains.

**C**In the meane time Marius himselfe was occupied in the fore ward of his hooft and ther employed his wysdome and strength, as a valyant and worthy captayne: and so stode it him in hande. For in the forwarde Jugurth himselfe with his grettest power & strongest company of men inbatayled with hym.

**C**But after that Jugurth knewe of the comynge of Bocchus to the felde: anone he turned hym with a smal company about him priuely vnto the fotemen of the Romains: and there with an hye voyse he cried vnto them, sayng that they fought but in vaine. For a litle before he had slaine Marius with his owne handes. And in cryeng these wordes he lysted vp withal, and shewed his swerde all ouerspynckled and dyed with blode: whiche he had so couloured in the batayle fierly ynough in murdering the fotemen of the Romains. These wordes Jugurth cried in latyn tong. For he had lerned to speke latyn longe before in the bataile of Numance. Whan the Romains herde these wordes they were affrayed, but more for crueltie of the noise: than for any confidence or trust which they had to the messanger. But on the other side the mindes of the barbariens wer bolded & exalted by these wordes: by reason whereof more sharply they invaded the Romains, seinge them abashed & astonied. And now were the Romains of the forwarde at that poynt that they were redy to giue them selfe to flight: as men discouraged for the said tidinges.

**C**Whan they were at this point: it fortunied so at the same tyme that Sylla had beaten and ouerthrowen the Mauriens



Mauriens whyche inuaded and assayled hym on the ryghte wyng of the batayle: Wherefoze he retourned to his companye and fierely assayled the freshe footemen whiche were wyth Bocchus, and at one syde brake in amonge the thickest of them. But Bocchus anone turned his backe and gaue hym selfe to flyght.

On the other syde Jugurth which in his part of the bataill almost had obtained victoꝝ dyd his diligence to incourage and support his company, and to maintaine that auantage which he had won. And at conclusion al in vaine. For while he labored there about as a worthy captaine, the speremē of the Romayns so compassed hym and his company about both on the ryght syde & on the lyft: that all his garde & other which were about hym at cōclusion wer slain. But he him selfe glad to saue his lyfe, brake forth alone from among the mids of his enemies, and from wepons & dartes with great difficultie.

But in the meane tyme Marius had ouercome and driuen away the hozlemen which assayled hym. Wherefoze anone he retourned fierely to helpe and socour his company whom he vnderstode somewhat put backe by violence of their enemies. But he by his pollicy and valiant deedes anone so reconforted his men that none of hys ennemies were able to withstand their violence in anye part of that batayle.

Thus finally the Romains after greate labour and manye greuous woundes disconfited their enemies on euery side. But whā the bataill was ended, and the Romains began to pursue the chase, then verely it was a pytefull & horrible syght to beholde in the open fieldes, and to cōsider the cruell spectacle of batayle. How some fled, some pursued, some intraged murthering, some rored

## The batayle

dieng, some slaine, some taken prisoners. The horse and men myngled together : laboring in the panges of deeth. The grounde ouerspryed with dead corpses mangled, mutulate, & horribly hewen: inuolued in blud congeled. The horses wounded : as mad drewe after the dead carcases of their maisters, their legges hanging in the stiropes, and their speares halfe throzowe theire bodies trailing after in the dust. The coursers wounded and fleinge caste by with their fete the dust tempered wyth blod renning ouer the dead bodies of their lordes. Many of the Numidiens whyche were sore wounded coude neyther fle: nor be suffred to take rest on the grounde. Somtime they laboured to rise and auoide : and anone after for feblenes fel downe to the grounde againe: eche robling and turning in others blod. And finalli: as far as any mans sight might extend, al the ground was ouerspryed & couered with armour, wepen, & dead carions rennyng of blode. And all the grounde infect with the same, horzryble to beholde.

*Howe Bocchus after that he was thus thysse ouercome in batayle purposed to make peace with the Romayns, and howe at hys request Marius sende vnto hym Sylla and Pantius to knowe his mynd in that behalfe.*  
The. lviij. Chapter.



After that this batel was thus ended to the bitter damage & destruction of the Numidyans: and to the laude and honour of the Romans. Marius was now without doubt ouercomer and victour and wente vnto the towne of Ciritha as his iournay & purpose was at firste beginning, before these two batayls. Whā Marius had sojourned there fyue dayes after this batayle: there came vnto him embassadours from kynge Bocchus.

Whiche

Whiche in their kynges behalfe desired of Marius to sende vnto hym two of the most trustie men whiche he had: saying that he wolde comen and treate with the of diuers busineses, both for his owne profite, & for profet & auantage of the Romans also. Marius without tarry send forth Sylla for one, and Aulus Manlius for another. Whan they were come to kyng Bocchus: howe be it he had sende for them to comen with them in his matters: Neuertheles it was concluded betwene them to speke to hym firste, to thentent to kyndle and inflame his mynde more againste Jugurth: or els seynge hym somwhat desirous & willing to haue peace, to prouoke hym to more desyre therto. Wherfore Sylla (to whom Manlius gaue place, not for his age, but for his eloquence) bega & spake to Bocchus in maner as foloweth.

Of the wordes of Sylla treasourer of the Romaine armye had before kyng Bocchus.

The. lii. Chapter.

**K**yng Bocchus, we haue greate gladnes & ioye syth it is so that the goddes haue thus admonished & enspired you so noble a man, that at laste ye haue reputed peace better and more acceptable than warre: lest ye might dishonest & defile your worthinesse by associatynge your selfe to the moost vnhappy tyranne Jugurth. And also we are glad that ye haue auoyded the occasion & necessitie wherby we were moued to pursue in batayle you, beinge ignorant of our quarell, and in the company of the sayd most cursed Jugurth, tyrant and enemye to the empire of Rome. And certainly the people of Rome euer sith their pooze, simple & small beginning haue thought it better to wyne frunds, the seruantes or bondmen: & also they haue thought it a muche surer thing to haue vnder theire empire such as willingly & of

ff. ij.

they?



## The batayle

their owne motion wolde yelde themselfe: than such as they haue constrained therto against their wyl. But verily no frendship is more necessary to you thā our amitie or frendship. At first of al: bycause we and ye be farre in sonder: wherby we shal haue les power to greue you, or to put you to any charge: by reason of our frendship. But our fauour and thankes may be as redy to you: as if we were nere together: considering the many & greates frendes whiche we haue not far from your marches. And also vnto the empire of Rome be obeyers, subiectes and seruantes abundantly. But as touching louers and frendes we noz none other can haue sufficiently ynough. For this consideration kinge Bacchus your frendship shalbe more acceptable vnto vs. And wolde god it had pleased you thus to haue done at the begynning to this warre. Forsooth if ye hadde so done: than shulde ye before this time haue receyued of the Romains mo comodites auantages, and good dedes than ye haue nowe suffered losse, damages, or hurtes. But while it is so that mānes dedes & besinneses (for the most part) be ruled by fortune to which fortune it hath plesed that ye shuld both proue and assay our myght and violence in bataile: & also our loue and fauour in peace: Therfore nowe lithe amytie is proffered to you by suffraunce of fortune: and lithe it is lausfull to you to take it: be not slowe from hens forward, but hastely proced as ye haue begon: that ye may proue the Romayns frendes to you lyke as ye haue proued them enemies before this tyme. Ye haue many expedient oportunites and necessary comodites by whom ye maye make amendes with your good dedes for that ye haue offended agaynst the Romayns and ouerpasse your olde fautes with netwe kindneses and benefites:  
and

and finally fix this in your hert that ye oz ani other shal neuer ouercome the peple of Rome with kyndnes oz good dedes. And as touchinge their hated, & of what might they ar in batail: ye your self know that by profe and experience. Wherfore procede in acquiring of their frendshyp: whiche gladly shalbe graunted vnto you, yf your merites shal so deserue.

**O**f the answer of Bocchus made to Sylla, and of the instableness of mynde of the same Bocchus. *The. iij. Chapter.*

**T**Hese wordes of Sylla answered Bocchus mildely and soberly: and a few wordes he spake in excusing his offence done again the Romains, sayeng that he had not taken armour nor begon warre agaynst them as ennemy to do iniury oz wrong vnto them: but to defend his owne kyngdome. And that the thirde part of Numidy belonged vnto him by lawe of armes: of the whiche the Romains laboured to expel Jugurth. And in that doyng they destroyed his part of the contrey: which he coude not suffer vntreuenged. Moreover Bocchus said for himselfe that he had sende vnto Rome before to require amite and frendshyp of the Romains: whiche thinge vnto him was denyed. But at conclusion he said that he wold ompt and lay a part al old malice and that al thing shulde be done & agreed bytwene them: if Marius wold graunt him that his embassadours might be sende to Rome: for the said frendship to be confederate with the Romains. Upon this answer Sylla and his felowe retourned to Marius which anone agreed that the same embassadours shulde be sent to Rome. But shortly after: what tyme Jugurthe vnderstode of the commyng of Sylla and Manlius he feared the same

ff. iij. thing

## The batayle

thyng, which was ordered & in hand. And anone with rewardes so he corrupted the frendes of Bocchus: that again they chaunged his mynde wyth their counsell: so mutable and variable was he of minde.

**C**how Bocchus chaunged his purpose yet once agayne, & send newe embassadours to Marius to treat of peace, & how Sylla receyued them and treated them in abience of Marius. *The. lxi. Chapter.*

**I**n the meane time Marius set and ordered his host in their wintring places and toke with him such men as wer of lyght harness and also a part of his horsemen: and with them went into a desert not far thens, to besiege a certaine towre belongyng to Jugurth: into whiche towre the said Jugurth hadde put for garnyson and defence: all the treatours whiche had forsaken and fled fro the Romans to Jugurth. But in the meane whyle Bocchus of newe agayne consyded in mynd the misfortune which hadde hapened to him in the two batayls before. Or els by counsell of some other of hys frendes: whome Jugurth had not corrupted with rewardes: he chose forth among al. v. men whose fidelite and truth he had wel knowen and often proued before: and whose wysdome was most expert and redy. Them sende he to Marius: and commaunded them afterward if the mater required as embassadours to take their way to Rome: and committed to them his full authozite in enery thyng which was to be done: and to conclude the war by what ever maner shulde seme best, & most expedient to their discrecion. These embassadours toke leue & spedely toke their iourney to the places where the Romans soourned the wynter season. But whyle they were in their iourneys thitherwarde: they weere assayled of theues  
of



of the getulians, and robbed and spoiled of all that they had about thē. Thus at last without worſhip or aparely all affrayed & abashed they fled vnto Sylla for refuge. This Sylla was left by Marius in the wynterynge places: to be ruler of the Romaine army in his abſence. What tyme theſe embassadours: thus ſpoyled wer come to Sylla for refuge, he receyued them not fayntly as ennemies as they deſerued: but curteysly wyth muche gentylnes and liberalite, treatynge them in all payntes honorably. By this meanes theſe barbarians and rude people counted and ſuppoſed that the name of couetyſe, which was imputed vnto the Romaines by comen fame was but falſe and fayned of their ennemis, to diſtayne their honour. And alſo for the much liberalite of Sylla they counted hym as their ſpecial friend. For yet vnto that tyme: the acclopyng of gyftes gyuen for rewardes for policy and falſhode to ouercome couetous or ſimple minds, was vnkowen vnto mani. No man was liberal in gyftes: but that he was thought and counted to be faythfull of hert withall. Thus the barbarians reputed the liberte & rewardes of Sylla to be a great and euident token of loue which he had to thē as they deemed. But to our purpoſe: the embassadours anone opened & declared to Sylla the wyll and comaundement of Bocchus their kinge, geuen to them to be executed. And alſo they required him to be to thē a frindly fauorzer and counſellour in their buſines. Furthermoze wyth their wordes and ſpech they comended & exalted the army, the truth, the greatnes and excellence of their kyng, and all other thynges whiche they thought myght auayle thē to obtayne beneuolēce of the Romaines. After they remayned with Sylla about the ſpace of .xl. daies which graūted them

## The batayle

them al his help and socour and also in the meane space enfourmed them in what maner they shuld order their wordes whan they shulde speke with Marius, and also before the Senatours at Rome.

¶ So we Marius haue the embassadours of Bocchus and sende them to Rome, and how they were answered of the Senatours  
The. xlii. Chapter.

**I**n the meane time Marius whiche was in assaut of þe kinges towre could not performe his enterpryse. Wherfore he returned again to Cirtha: anone was he certified of comyng of the imbassadours of Bocchus.

Wherfore he commaunded them & Sylla also to come before him: & also he called together al the most worthy men of his hole hoost from euery place. Before them al presently he comanded the imbassadours of Bocchus to reherse the petycion of their king (which rehersted and herd) it was graunted vnto them to go to Rome for the same pointes. And of Marius was truce required in the meane tyme bytwene Bocchus & him. Sylla with many other noble men were pleased withall. A fewe o- ther fierly & sharply counselled otherwise: as men with out pyte & ignorant of others harde fortune which whā it beginneth to be froward and cōtrary: it turneth euery thinge to aduersyte.

¶ But whan the Mauriens had obtained of Marius al their desire. iij. of thē went to Rome with one named Octauus Rufo: whom Marius had assigned to cōuey thē thider This Octauus Rufo was send before from Rome into Affrike to Marius with wages for the soul dyours. The other two imbassadours of Bocchus returned home againe to their kynge, which of thē gladly hard

harde of the good report whiche they made of the Romaines in euery point: & specially of the good wyl, liberality and courtesye of Sylla.

**C** But whan the other thre imbastadours wer come to Rome they apered before the Senatours & in the humblest wyse y they coude deuise, did their message excusing their kinge: and confessyng that he had offended against the empyre not by his owne seking: but by y cursed fault prouocacion, and instygation of Jugurth: wherof their kinge sore repeted. Wherfore in his behalfe at conclusion they besought the Romaines of pardō, amite, & peace. Than was it brefely answered to thē in this maner.

**T**he Senatours & people of Rome: is wont to remēbre both the kindnes and benifytes of their frendes: and also their iniuries of their enemies. But sith it repeted and forthynketh Bocchus of his trespass: grace and pardon of his offence is graunted vnto him. Peace & amite shalbe also graunted vnto him hereafter, whan he shal so deserue.

**C** Howe Marius sent Sylla agayne to Bocchus at hys desyre, and whan daunger the same Sylla escaped by help of Volusion of hys Bocchus.  
The. l. iii. Chapter.



**W**han Bocchus vnderstode al these thinges: he desyred Marius by hys letters to sende vnto him Sylla: to thentent that after hys aduysle and discreffion counsel might be had of the comen busynes to both parties belonging. Sylla anore was sende forth with a greate retynue of fotemen and hozemen: with diuerse weapen and strong defence as archars, slingars with other like. And to thintente to spede their iournay moze hastelye

Eg. i.

they



## The batayle

they were all armed with lightest harnes whiche coude be provided but for all the lightnes of their armour it was defensife ynough against the weapins of the Maurians: for their weppyns be light in likewise. But finally whan Sylla hadde passed fivē daies of his iournay: suddenly Uolux the son of Bocchus apered & shewed himselfe to the Romans in the open felde: with no mo but M. men whiche went scatered & dispersed abrode negligently: so that thei seemed to Sylla: & al other a greater nombze than they wer in dede. Sylla & al his company feared them, thinkynge them ennemies: wherfore the Romans made them redy with armour and weapen: to defende themselves, and to resist their ennemies: if nede shuld so require. A litel fear was among them, but their hope and confort overpassed their feare. For why: they hadde the upper hande before: and considered that they shulde bicker with them, whome they hadde often overthrowen and overcome before. In the meane tyme the horsemen whiche were sent before of both parties to espy the truteth of the mater, certified eche of them that al thing was quyet and sure ynough: as it was in dede: without treason or paryl. Uolux in his metinge called Sylla by name: and welcomed him beningely, sayenge that he was sent from his father Bocchus to mete the said Sylla for his honour, socour, and defence. And so proceded they forthewarde al that day and the next day after in company together without feare or daunger. But after that it was nyght and their tentes pitched: suddenly the Maurian Uolux came renninge to Sylla al pale and quaking: and saide that he was infourmed of the espyes, that Jugurthe was not far thens. And with that praied & exhorted him to fle away with him priuely  
by

by night. Sylla denyed that vtterly as fierse & bolde of courage, saieng that he feared not a coward Numidian which so often hadde ben ouercome before. And that he trusted wel ynough to the strength and courage of hys men: & finally he gaue Volux this answer. If I knew without dout that our sure destru:tion wer instant: and that I and mine shulde be slaine in the felde, yet wolde I not fle for any drede: but rather abide & dye manfully than cowardely to flee and shame my people of whom I haue charge in sparynge our lyues, whiche be so incertaine and vnure: and para venture shortly after this shal finishe with some sickenes or disease. Is it not better dye in a noble quarel manly, than to liue in shame cowardly: Whā Sylla had thus answered: than Volux counselled him to depart from that place and to remoue forward by night. Therto Sylla consented: and anone commaunded his souldiours to refreshe them in their tentes with such vitels as they had, and to make plenty of fiers ouer al the place to the intent that if their enemies were nere: in beholding the fiers they shuld thinke that they wold not remoue thens that night. But in the first hour of the night Sylla commaunded al his souldiours to leaue their fiers brenning & so to departe forward in their iournay wyth silence: so they dyd. And went al the night long: and euyn with the sonne ryfinge they al being weryed: Sylla pyched his tentes againe. With that certaine horsemen of the Mauriens brought worde that Jugurth had takē place to his tentes: and rested about the distance of.ii. myle before them. Whan these tidynge were harde among the Romyngs: a meruelous and great feare entred the myndes of them all. For they thought themselfe betrayed of Volux.

## The batayle

And so environed with falsehode and treason. Manye aduised to take punyshement of Molor: sayinge that it was a thing vnworthy to suffer hym to escape unpunished for so great a myschiefe and treason agaynst them comitted. But howe beit that Sylla was inwardely of the same opinion, neuertheles he defended the Maurien from damage: And exhorted his men to be of strong and bolde myndes: sayinge that often befoze that tyme it had bene sene that a fewe worthy men had won victo-ry of a much multitude of cowards. And howe muche the lesse that they spared their bodies in batayl fro fightinge, so much the surer shuld they be: and that it semed no man to whom god and nature had geuen handes to defende his body, to seeke defence in his feete vnarmed by runninge awaye: And that in suche a ieopardy a noble souldiour ought not to turne away his bodie frome his enemy though he were naked and vnarmed.

¶ Whā Sylla had exhorted his men with such words, he called vnto hym Molor: and called into wytnes Jupiter and all his ydols to recozde the falsehed and treason of Bocchus, father of Molor, which had so betrayed hym. Thā for as much as Sylla supposed that Molor had brought hym by treason into the hādes of Jugurth by counsell and comaundement of his father Bocchus he comaunded Molor anone to departe from hys company and sighte. Molor pyteously wepyng, besoughte Sylla not to beleue suche thynges in hym: & sayde that certainly by gyle nor by treason was nothyng done of hym nor of his father, but rather by Jugurth, which by his subtiltie had espyed and searched their iournay and wayes by his espies, & so knowen the same. But at conclusion sayd Molor, syth it is so that Jugurth hathe no  
greate



great cōpany, & that his hope, his trust and conforzte for the most part dependeth on my father, I thynke that he shal not be so bolde to do any dammage to you openlye while I am in your company, which maye recozde his dedes to my father. Wherefore Sylla to the intent that ye maye perceyue that no treason is in me, I shal openlye go with you alone by the middes of the tentes of Jugurth, & so safely conuey you; and either sende my folke befoze, or els leane thē here wyth your company, whether of both shall please you beste. Thys counsel was allowed of Sylla: & anone without tary he proceeded forward wyth all hys company through the middes of the tentes of Jugurth. And bicause this was sodenly done Jugurthe not knowinge thereof befoze, he marueyled much therat, & doubted longe what was to be done. But at laste he suffered the Romaines to passe & escape safe and sound for loue of Molux, & drede of Bocchus his father. And within a fewe daies after, Molux and Sylla with their cōpany came to Bocchus wher they intēded.

Of the metyng and secrete apoyntmentes betwene Bocchus & Sylla, and howe betwene them they bothe abused Asper the imballadour of Jugurth.

The. lxxii. Chapter.



At the same season was with Bocchus a certaine yonge Numidian named Asper, send befoze Bocchus fro Jugurth by craft and subtyltie, to espie his counsell, as soone as it was heard that Bocchus had send for Sil la. This Numidian was muche and familiarly cōuersant with Bocchus at that tyme. Moreover there was an other named Dabar the son of Massagrade, which of his fathers syde was of the stocke of Massinissa: but of his mothers side unlike of birth, for his mother was

Ec. iii.

bozne

## The batayle

borne of a cōcubine. This Dabar (as I haue said) was at this season also in the company of Bocchus: & to him dere and welbeloued for subtel wit & great artes which he had done before: and namely bycause that Bocchus had founde and proued him trusty and faithfull many tymes before. Anone Bocchus send this Dabar to Syl la commaunding Dabar to shew him that he was redy to do euery thinge whyche the Romaines to him wolde commaunde or assigne. And that Silla himselte shulde apoint, and chose a time and place where thei might com men together of their maters: & that he shulde not fere nor dout though the embassadoure of Jugurthe were ther with him. For he had reserued al thinges touching their counsell hole tyll comming of Silla: & of nothing had apointed, communed, nor concluded with the same imbassadour of Jugurth. Whiche imbassadour was cal led thider to thintent that their cōmen besinneses might be done moze at libertie and with lesse suspicion of Jugurth: for by other meanes they coulde not resyste nor make prouision againste his giles. Such wordes sende Bocchus to Silla: by his trusty seruant Dabar. But not withstanding al these fayre promisses of Bocchus it was vnderstande that he prolonged the Romaines and the Numidians in hope of peace, rather for falshod and treason after the credence of affricans: than for profet to the Romaines or trouth of suche thinges as he promised to Silla. And often times he cast in his minde & doubted whether he might betray Jugurth to the Romaines: or els Silla to Jugurthe: the pleasure and desire of his mynd aduised, moued, and counselled him againste the Romaines: but the drede which he had of punishment in time to come; moued him with the Romaines. But to  
our

our purpose: Sylla answered to Dabar the messenger of Bocchus that he wolde come thyder, and firste speke a litel of the peace and of such other thinges in presence of Asper the imbastadour of Jugurth: but concerninge the remenant of the besinesse: he wolde differ that to comen secretly with Bocchus, fewe or none called to counsell. And also he taughte Dabar what wordes Bocchus shulde answere vnto him againe, whan they shuld come to communication: and so departed Dabar. But whan Sylla sawe his time he went to Bocchus, and said that he was sent from Marius the consull to enquire yf he wold leuer peace or war: and wheron he wold conclude. Than Bocchus (as Dabar had warned hym before) commaunded Sylla to retourne agayne after .x. dayes and than shulde an answere be gyuen vnto him. For at that tyme nothing was concluded. That answere well noted and harde Asper the embassadoure of Jugurth, whiche was sent to espye the intreatement: & so thought he that nothing shuld be treated nor concluded without his knowlege. And thus after this answere Bocchus and Sylla departed; eche to their tentes.

**O**f the second coming together of Bocchus & Sylla, & the wordes of Bocchus hed to Sylla, & replication & answere of Sylla agayne to hym. And how Bocchus graunted & concluded to betraye Jugurth to the Romanes.  
The. lxx. Chapter.

**B**ut after that much of the night was ouerpassed, Bocchus priuelye sende for Sylla, none bringe in their company, saue such as on both partes might truly interpret & declare the sentence & vnderstanding of their wordes. And also Dabar the saide messenger was present, whiche solemply swoze and promised to be a faithful interpreter of both their sayings and sentences.

Than



## The batayle

**T**hā Bocchus anone began his words in this sentence  
**I** haue thought forsoth: that it shulde neuer haue for  
tuned that I the greatest king of al thē in these landes  
and rychest of al them that I knowe : shulde haue ben  
bound to a meane & priuate person. And forsoth Sylla  
oz euer I hard of you: I haue giuen helpe and socours  
to many other men . To some of mine owne voluntary  
and frewil. And to some other: required of thē : my selfe  
not neding helpe of any man. But now sith I haue kno  
wen you : I haue nede of your helpe and frendshipp of  
which I am glad: notwithstanding other men ar wont  
to be sozry of such fortune. And certainly this nede whiche  
I haue of your frendship is not of me counted damage  
noz losse: but muche profet and pleasure . For inwardly  
in my mind nothing is derer, noz moze acceptable: whi  
che ye may conueniently proue if it please you: demande  
and take of me armour, men, treasure: & vse and occupy  
the same as your owne . And thinke ye for certaine that  
while ye liue & I together : I can neuer render worthis  
thankes to your kindnes: noz condignly recōpence your  
great humanite: but euer my good wil & minde shalbe  
hole & netoe against you. And certaynly if I may knowe  
your minde and wil : ye shal not nede to desyre of me:  
I shal preuent your requestes with mi benefites: so that  
ye shal coueyt nothinge in vaine. Verely as I thinke it  
is lesse reprouable and lesse dishonour a king to be ouer  
come wyth armour : than wyth liberalite. Wherfore  
I haue concluded in minde that a man shal rather ouer  
come me in batayle with weapen and force of armes:  
than with liberalite.

**B**ut touching your commen weal (for whose besines  
ye be sende hither as procuratour of the same) thys is  
my

my sentence and mynde in fe fewe wordes. Agaynste the Romayns, noz agaynste their empire: I neuer moued noz made war: noz to make bataile against them: it was neuer in my mynde by my wyl. But the boundes of my marchesse haue I endeouored me to defende agaynste the violence of your armed men. But this I leaue and set a side: syth I se that pleaseth you to do the same: execute and cōtinue ye batayle with Jugurth as ye will.

And as touchyng me: I shall not ouerpasse the water of Muluca, whiche was boundes bytwene my marches and Micipsa whyle he lyued. Noz into my countrey I shall not suffre Jugurth from hens forth to entre for socours, as he hath done in time passed. Farthermore if ye desire any thinge of me conueniently: whiche I may worthely graunt, my royalte not distayned: it shall not be denyed to you. Thus cōcluded Bocchus his wordes.

¶ Unto these wordes Sylla answered for hys owne part but moderately & with fewe wordes. But touching the peace and besynesse concerning the commen weal: he spake many wordes, wherof the conclusion was suche.

¶ Kyng Bocchus I insure and promesse you: that the Romayns shall not be vnkinde to you if ye do some pleasure to them: whiche may rather longe to them all holly in comen: than in me alone. And thynke ye for certayne: that they whiche haue overcome you in batayle: shall lykewyse overcome you with liberalite, kyndnesse, and good dedes: if ye so contend with them: whiche thyng is now redy in your power to do: consyderinge that ye haue Jugurth redy at your wil and pleasure. Therfore amonge all benefites or pleasures: ye can do none more acceptable vnto the Romayns: than to delyuer vnto the Jugurth. By this meanes shall they be muche beholden

## The batayle

to you: & thinke ye stedfastly: it shal not be vnrewarde  
on our behalfe. For thā shal the Senate graunt to you  
anyte & peace: and also a part of Numidy which ye do  
now clayme: shal than be graunted to you vnrequired.  
**C** Bocchus heyrng these wordes of Sylla: first excused  
himselke by the affynyte whiche was bytwene hym and  
Jugurth: and by the longe familiarite & acquaintance  
which they had together: saieng also y<sup>e</sup> a bonde of peace  
was confederate and sworne bytwene them. And also  
that he fered and suspected that yf he so dyd: hys owne  
subiectes shulde hate him therfore, whiche much loued  
Jugurth: & greatly hated the Romayns. But not with-  
standyng these wordes of Bocchus: Sylla desyred not  
to attyle and counsel him: tyll at last he agreed and con-  
sented to hys desyre, promysinge to do euery thyng as  
Sylla required hym. But to thynntent to faine a treaty  
of peace (of which Jugurth werryed in war was much  
desirous) they ordayned suche craft: as to their purpose  
semed moste expedient. But whan they had ymagined  
and deuysed al thynges after theyr myndes: than bothe  
they departed in sonder: & returned againe to their rest.

**C**haue Bocchus betrayed Jugurth and deliuered hym bound to Sylla.  
*The. l. cxi. Chapter.*



**A** the morow after Bocchus called to him  
Asper the imbassadour of Jugurth, & sayde  
to hym that he vnderstode of Sylla by the  
intrepretacio of Dabar that the war might  
be finished vpon certaine condicions. Where-  
fore he bad hym go and inquire the mynde and pleasure  
of his king in that behalfe. Asper of these tydynges was  
glade and toke his leaue of Bocchus: & departed to the  
tentes of Jugurth: & certyfied hym of y<sup>e</sup> same. Jugurth  
shewed



shewed to Asper: al his minde and pleasure concerninge the premisses . And within .viii. dayes after sende hym againe to Bocchus. Whan Asper was returned againe to Bocchus: he shewed to him the wyll of Jugurth saying that he coueted to do al thinge which shulde be commaunded to him of Bocchus: but he had but small confidence in Marius . For asinuche as the peace whiche often befoze had ben conuented and apoynted of the Romaine captayns had anone after ben frustrate: & broken of them agayne . But if ye will (said Asper to Bocchus that peace shalbe confirmed of the Romainys with Jugurth and you also: Jugurthe despyeth & requireth you to labour so: that Sylla, Jugurth, & ye may come together to communycation: as if it wer to treat of peace and that ye wyll there betraye and delyner Sylla to him.

For if ye may ones bringe suche a man into power and handes of Jugurth: anone after it shal fortune without doubte that peace shalbe made and graunted to hym by comen assent of the Senatours: and commens of Rome also. And that: to thyntent to recouer Sylla againe out of the handes of Jugurthe . For without dout the Romainys wil not suffice so noble a man to be left in handes and danger of their enemies . And namely: whan they shal vnderstande hym taken, not by his owne folly nor cowardise: but in besines belonging to the comen weal.

Bocchus heiring these words, reuolued & cast in his mynd what he might answer to the: but at last he graunted therto. But whether he doubted so longe befoze he granted for subtilty or very truth, it is hard to decerne. But this is plainly knowen y<sup>e</sup> for the most parte lyke as the wylls & mindes of kinges be behymet immoderat and hasty: ryght so be they mouinge, vnstedfast & variable:

## The batayle

And often aduers and contrary to their owne selfe : and with themselfe repugnant. But to our mater: Bocchus assigned to Asper a place and tyme : where Sylla and they shulde comen together of the peace . And in the meane whyle somtime he comuned secretly with Sylla somtime with Asper embassadour of Jugurth, treating them both mekely and curtesly:and promisyng one selfe thirg vnto thē both, Wherfore they both were glad:and also eche of thē both had good hope in the promysse of Bocchus .

**C** But the night befoze that day:which was assigned to intreatment of the peace : Bocchus called vnto him diuerse of his frendes, as if he wolde haue taken counsell of them:and than immediatly he chaunged that mynde, commaundyng them agayne to auoyde from hym. And so ( none of his counsell aboute hym ) he stode all alone reuoluyng and tournyng in mind many thinges by him selfe, chaunging oftentimes in countenance, and colour variable and diuerse:aperyng forthwarde by tokens of feare conceyued in his minde & expressed by outwarde tokens of his body. In so muche:that all yf he expressed not his mind by wordes:neuertheles this ofte changing of countenance, declared the secretes of his hert . But at conclusion:after longe conflyct had within himselfe : at last he commaunded Sylla to be called vnto him. And than after his aduise and counsell he deuised & prepared al thinges concerning the prodicion of Jugurth.

**C** After this counsel concluded: as sone as the day light apered : tidynge were brought to Bocchus, that Jugurth was not far thens: and commynge toward hym. Bocchus this herynge : anone prepared hymselfe and proceded forth agaynst hym accompanied with a fewe  
of

of his frendes, & also with Sylla: sayning that he went  
so forth to mete wyth Jugurth and to receyue hym, by  
cause of honour. And thus they proceeded forwarde: tyll  
at laste they came to an open heath, where they myghte  
easily se the comminge of Jugurthe: whiche place was  
apointed befoze to their treason. For in diuerse valeys of  
the same heath: were armed men lyeng in waite redy and  
apointed befoze by Bocchus: for to assaile Jugurth and  
his company, whan signes shulde be given to them: to  
ysue forth of their lurking places. Anone Jugurth with  
many of his men about him came to the same place all  
vnarmed: as apointment was made befoze. For it was  
ordained that Bocchus, Jugurth, & Sylla: shuld come  
together to communicacion: eche one with a small com-  
pany, and all vnarmed.

**C**Anon as Jugurth was come thider: king Bocchus  
gaue a tokē to his men, which lay in wait for Jugurth.  
Anone as they hard the tokē: sodainly they brake forth  
and inuaded Jugurth & his company: compassinge them  
about on euery side. Without great labour al the compa-  
ny of Jugurth were murdred: & he himselfe taken and  
bounde hand and fote, & so deliuered vnto Sylla: which  
without tary led him forth and deliuered him vnto Ma-  
rius: whose hert was replenyshed and inuironed, with  
ioye inestimable.

**C**how Marius was receiued into Rome with tryumphe, & how Jugurth  
was caste into pyson where he continued in myserable captiuitie tyl he  
died.

The. lxxii. Chapter



**A**fter that Jugurth thus bounde was deliuered  
by Bocchus to Sylla, & thā to Marius: anone  
all the Numidians submitted & yelded theselve  
to the Romayns. Marius with great wisdom set an

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## The batayle

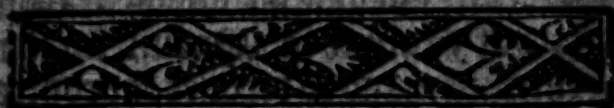
order amonge the people, and garnyshe & fortified the townes, and with the remenaunt of his army toke hys journey againe to Rome, leadinge Jugurth & his two sonnes bound with hym, with innumerable other prisoners, great treasure, oliphantes & armour whych he had won in the war of Jugurth. But after y<sup>e</sup> tydings were brought to Rome how the war was ended in Numidy: & how Jugurth was led thitherward bound & prisoner anone the Senate & comons assembled to counsel, and Marius was creat cosul againe for the next yere in his absence. And by decre and ordinaunce, the prouince of Fraunce was committed to hym to be recouered.

For the same tyme whyle Marius warred in Numidy, and toke Jugurth prisoner: that contrey of Fraunce (whose people that tyme wer named Cimbrians) rebelled against thempire of Rome. Against whom the Romans send forth to repressse their rebellion a greate army with .ii. captaines: one named M. Scipio, the other M. Manlius: which at laste with froward fortune had a great & greuous batail with the same frenchmē Cimbrians: in which both these Romaine capteines were overcome, & twise lost the field. Of the Romaine men of war wer slaine .lxxx. M. of tylmen & pages, xl. thousand. Thus was this batel foughtē with so yl fortune to the Romans, that the cite of Rome, & al the contrey of Italy trebled for feare thereof. In so much that both the Romans which liued at that tyme, & al their progenie which succeded them counted al other nations ready to their obeisance, & to wyn honor by thē: but thei thought neuer to cōtend in batel with this nacion of frenchmē, to wyn glory & honour by thē, but rather to defende thē selfe and their libertie: which thinge if they myghte do, they

they counted thē selfe fortunate . Wherfore (as I haue befoze recounted) the Senate & cōmons of Rome decreed this prouince of Fraunce to Marius for to reuenge the death of their men, and to recouer the contrey .

¶ But to our purpose : whan Marius shuld enter into Rome, he was ioyfully receiued with great glozy & triumphe, wherof the order was suche. Marius him selfe was set on hye in a goldē chaire, which was drawen of foure white palfreys. Jugurth & his two sonnes, wyth many other noble men whō he brought captiue frō Numidi, proceeded befoze his chariot, their handes & armes bound as prisoners. Farther, for more ample ostētacion of his glozy, & to declare how much he had enriched the cōmon weale of Rome, al the elephants, armour, iewels, trespure & riches which he had wonne in Numidy of Jugurth, were led & borne befoze hym. Thā al the Senatours, all the officers & noble men of Rome, with an vnmesurable multitude of cōmons receiued hym with al honour and ioy: & conueyed him to the principal palace of Rome, named the Capitol; wher he made sacrifice with a bull to Jupiter, for his victozy after the custume of that tyme. His sacrifice ended: then was he conuaied to the Senate house in his robe triumphall as neuer cōsul was brought befoze his tyme. Marius was receiued at Rome with such triumphe at the kalendes of January. From thens forth al the hope of cōfort healthe, socoure, & wealthe of Rome rested in Marius. ¶ Jugurth was cast in prison, wher he ended his wretched lyfe in miserable captiuitie, and manifolde calamities, as to such a murderer vnnatural, and tyzanne inhumaine was conuenient.

F F A F S.



**T**hus endeth the famous Cronicle of the warre  
whiche the Romaynes had against Jugurth  
blurper of the kyngedome of Numydie  
whiche Cronicle is compyled in  
laten by the renowned Ro-  
mayne Saluste: And  
translated into En-  
glish by Syr A-  
lexander

**Barkley** prieste, at commaundemente of  
the right hygh and myghty Prince  
**Thomas** Duke of Northfolke,  
And printed at Lon-  
don in Foster lane by  
**John** Waley.

(.) (.)  
(.)



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